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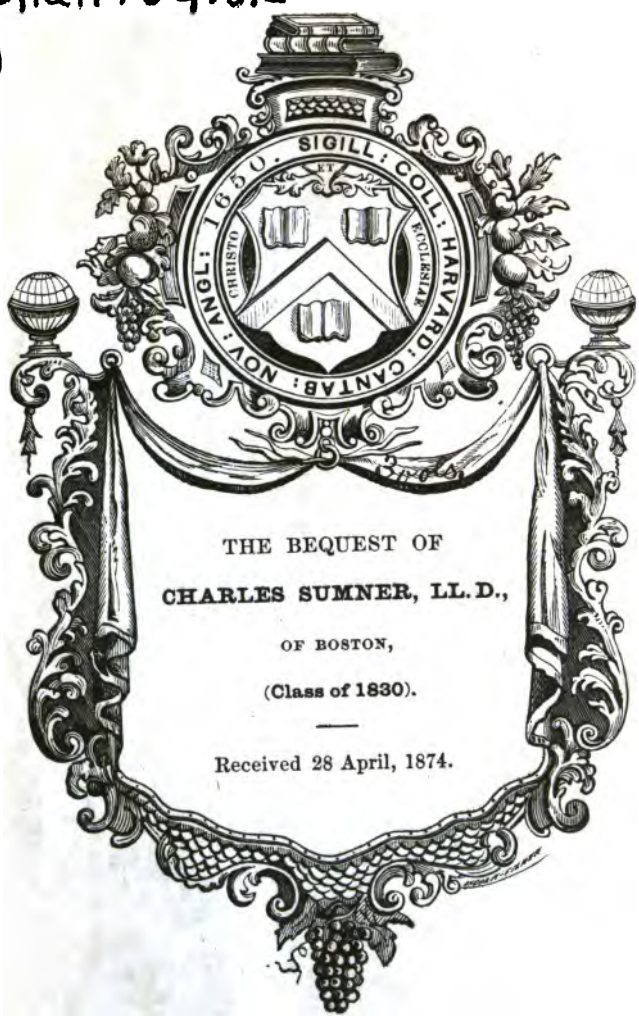
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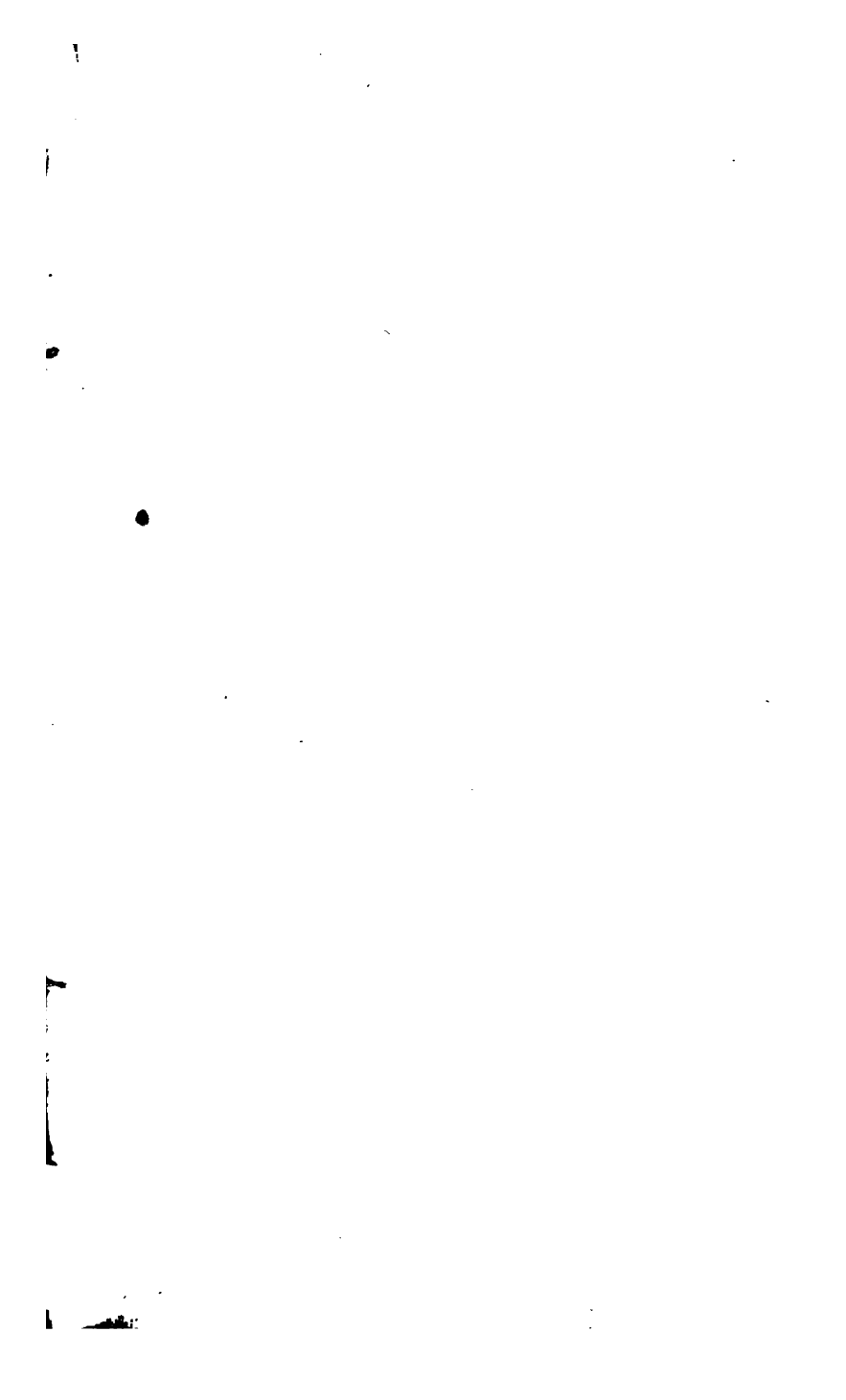


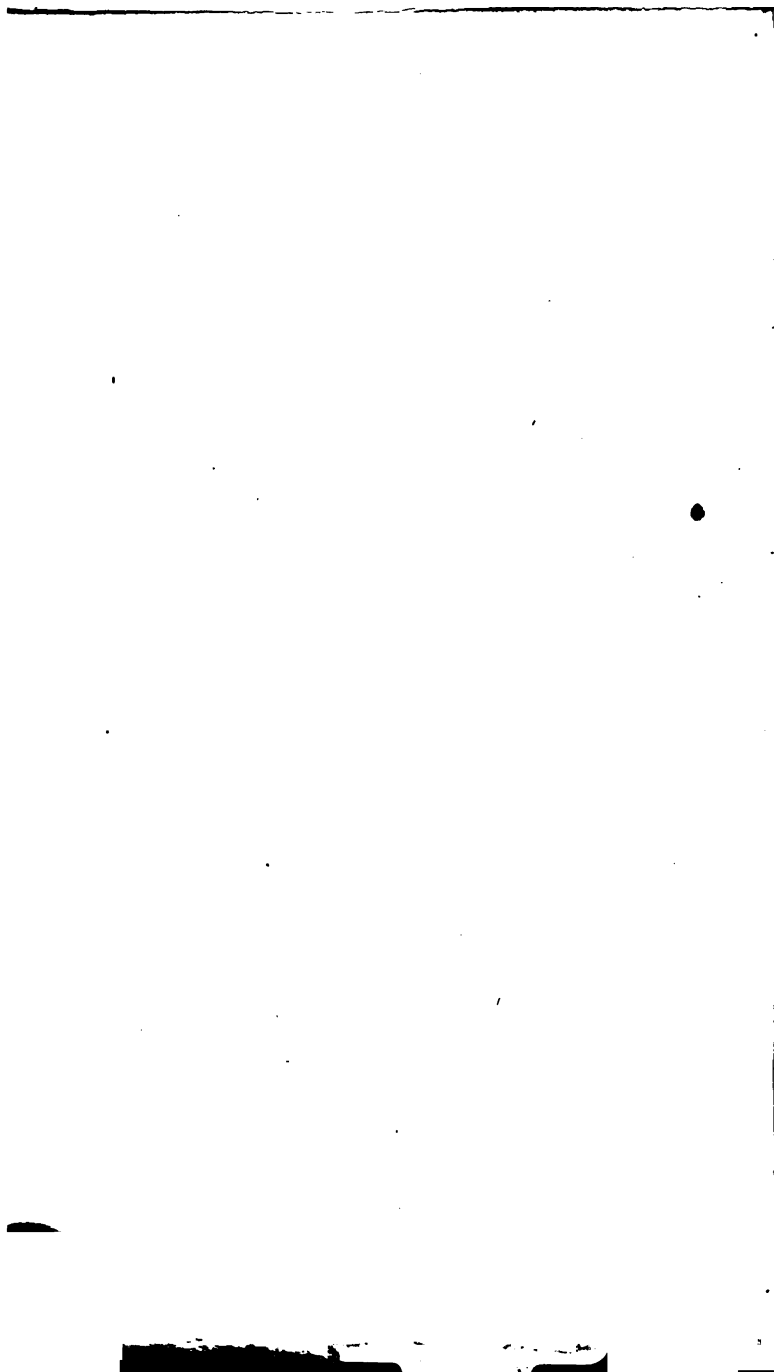
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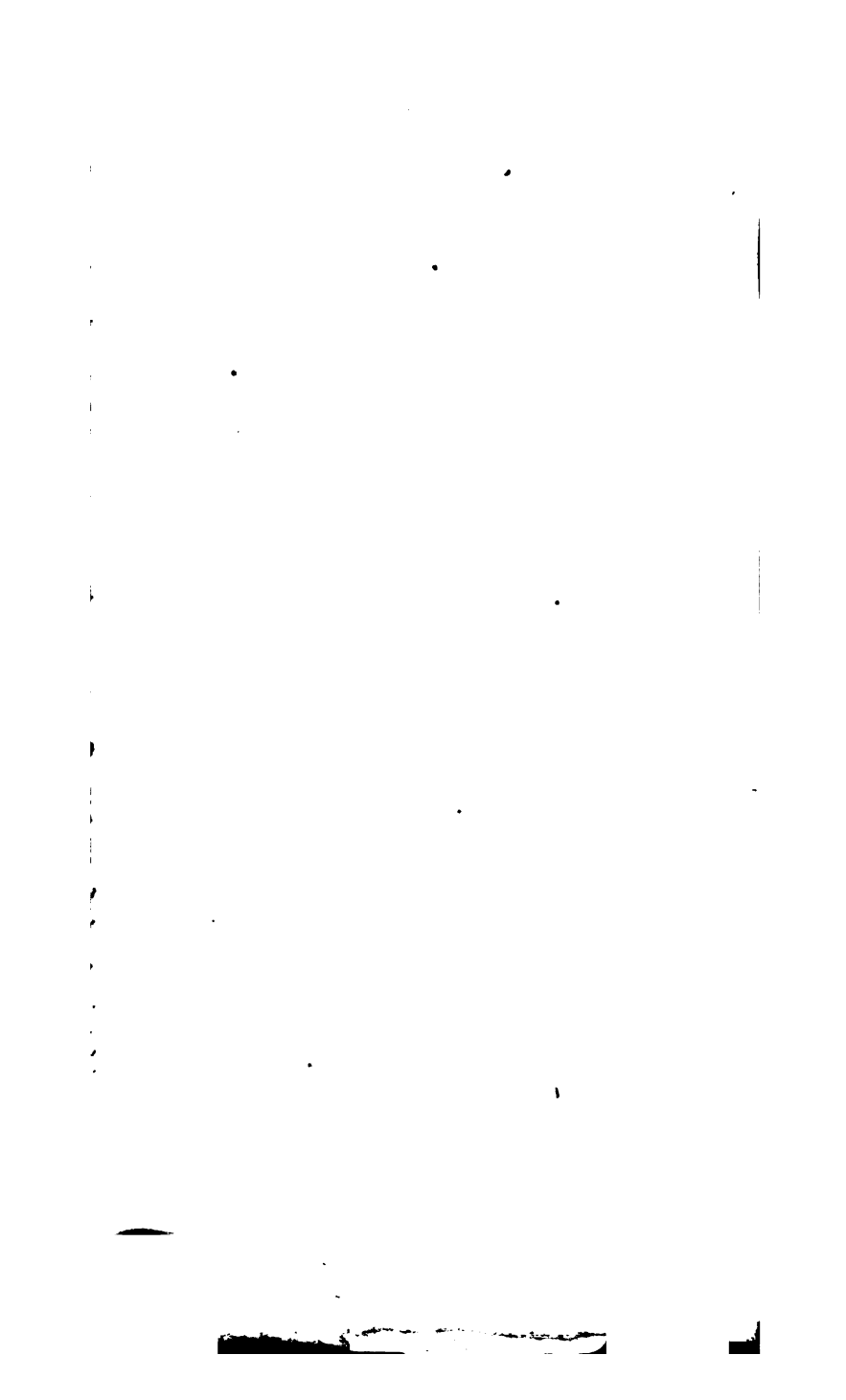
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VOL. I

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HISTORY

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PREFACE.

THE present is an attempt—the first that has been made in our language—to compose, from the interminable mass of original authorities, a general history of the Spanish and Portuguese Peninsula.

That such an attempt has not been made before now, will surprise no one fully aware of the difficulties attending it. Even with the advantages of a long and intimate acquaintance with Spain,—an acquaintance not merely literary, but personal; not confined to one city, but extending over a great part of the country,—we could not foresee their precise extent. The number of authorities, many of great rarity; the trouble and expense of procuring them; the labor of forming a clear and connected narrative from materials generally confused, often obscure and contradictory; above all, the more than Egyptian darkness which at every period involves the political, civil, and ecclesiastical institutions, no less than the social condition, of the Peninsula—subjects, however interesting and important, unaccountably neglected by the national historians—are obstacles formidable enough to intimidate the most resolute student. Could any thing short of actual experience have shown them in their true magnitude, we should assuredly have recoiled from the present task. It is now executed—in what manner remains for the public to decide.

In stating these difficulties, we do not wish either to claim merit for diligent research, or to disarm criticism. We have sometimes spoken strongly of others, and we cannot reasonably object to the same treatment in return. We can only expect that the critics who may honor this compendium with their notice, will exhibit the same im-

partiality, and use the same diligence towards forming a correct opinion, as, we hope, have guided us.

In the arrangement adopted in regard to the coexisting kingdoms during the Mohammedan domination—their histories being here written *consecutively* instead of *simultaneously*—we have aimed at greater perspicuity than could be attained by the usual method. Hitherto, by relating the events of all in chronological order, and by being compelled to pass continually from one sovereignty to another, historians have confounded events and persons, so that no attention in the reader, however undivided and painful, could follow the chain of each particular history. Let any one peruse a single book of Morales, Mariana, Ferreras, or Masdeu, and he will find that, unless he form an abstract as he proceeds of the general history, classing the transactions of each kingdom under their proper head, his memory will retain no distinct impression; nothing will remain in his mind but a mass of confusion,—a poor return for his toil.

In this separate arrangement, the first place has been assigned to the Mohammedan sovereignty,—the most important of the period under consideration. Next follows that of the Asturias, Leon and Castile, which may be regarded as the trunk whence the other Christian states generally diverge as so many ramifications. The rest will be found to occupy places proportioned to their antiquity, their relative importance, or their connexion with one another. On the interesting subject of the Arabian and Moorish domination we should certainly have dwelt at much greater length, were it not at this moment in preparation for the Cabinet Cyclopædia, and by an author (Dr. Southey) whose pen none but the presumptuous would venture to rival.

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

T A B L E

OF THE

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1. Ataulphus.....	411	415.
2. Sigeric (a few days).		
3. Wallia.....	415	420.
4. Theodored.....	420	451.
5. Thorismund.....	451	452.
6. Theodoric I.....	452	466.
7. Euric.....	466	483.
8. Alaric.....	483	506.
9. Gesaleic.....	506	511.
10. Theodoric II.*.....	511	522.
11. Amalaric.....	522	531.
12. Theudis.....	531	548.
13. Theudisel.....	548	549.
14. Agilan.....	549	554.
15. Athanagild I.....	554	567.
16. Liuva I.†.....	567	570.
17. Leovigild‡.....	570	587.
18. Recared I.....	587	601.
19. Liuva II.....	601	603.
20. Witteric.....	603	610.
21. Gundemar.....	610	612.
22. Sisebert.....	612	621.
23. Recared II. (three months).		
24. Swintila.....	621	631.
25. Sisenand.....	631	636.
26. Chintila.....	636	640.
27. Tulga.....	640	642.
28. Chindaswind§.....	642	649.
29. Receswind.....	649	672.
30. Wamba.....	672	680.
31. Ervigius.....	680	687.

* The Ostrogoths, who never resided in Spain.

† Reigned one year alone, and two with Leovigild.

‡ Reigned two years with his brother, sixteen alone, one with Recared.

§ Reigned alone seven years; with his son above four. The government, however, after 649, was exercised by the latter.

Names.	Reigned from	
	A.D.	A.D.
32. Egica	687	701.
33. Witiza	701	709.
34. Roderic	709	711.
35. Theodomir	711	743.
36. Athanagild II.	743	755.

TABLE II.

SUEVIC KINGS.

1. Hermenric	409—438.
2. Rechila	438—448.
3. Rechiarus	448—456.
4. Maldras	457—460.
5. Frumarus	460—464.
6. Remismund	464—469.

The last *independent* king; his immediate successors unknown. Of the following, the names only have descended to us.

Carriaric	550—559.
Theodomir	559—569.
Mir	569—582.
Eboric	582—583.
Andeca	583—584.

This usurper dethroned by Leovigild, who annihilated the Suevic government.

TABLE III.

VANDALIC KINGS.

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This prince, with the whole nation, passed over to Africa.

THE HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

INTRODUCTION.

CONDITION AND LOCATION OF THE PENINSULAR NATIONS PRIOR TO THE ROMAN SWAY.

WHEN, and by whom, the Peninsula* was peopled, it would be vain to inquire. The earliest inhabitants whom history makes known to us were the Iberians; a nation whose origin was probably derived from the Asiatic country of that name. The establishment of Iberian colonies along the coasts of the Mediterranean, from Asia Minor to Catalonia, seems to indicate the gradual progress westward of those enterprising adventurers. Beyond doubt, they were settled in the country at a period lost in the depths of antiquity; but that they were the *first* settlers may be reasonably doubted. Its position, climate, and fertility, would cause it to be inhabited before most others in Europe.

At a time so remote also that we cannot ascend to it,† the Iberians were disturbed in their possessions by the Celts; a race whose origin is wrapped in impenetrable darkness, and whose migrations have been, and still are, the subject of much ingenious but fruitless disputation. Dissimilar, we are told, in language and manners, the numerous tribes into which the two people were split were long hostile to each other. They contended for the possession, or perhaps the supremacy, of the country, until, finding by experience that their strife was fruitless, they consented, perhaps, to amalgamate together,—certainly to share the country between them; and the united people were thenceforth called *Celtiberians*.‡

* It must be here observed, that, in the present work, the word "Spain" will frequently be used, *per synecdochen*, for the whole Peninsula.

† Ocampo, following the authority of tradition, or from conjecture, fixes it at about one thousand years before Christ.

‡ "De estos Celtas y de los Españoles que se llamaban Iberos, habiendose entre si emparentado, resulto el nombre de *Celtiberia*."—*Mariana*, tom. i. p. 25. Strabo and Ptolemy allude to this singular covenant, unexampled in history, as to an undisputed fact. Martial (but the authority of a poet

Such is the natural account, given by the most ancient authorities, of the population of Spain prior to the historic times. It does not, however, satisfy the Spanish writers; who, respectable as is the antiquity assigned their nation, stoutly contend for one higher. Chiefly from the scattered and scarcely intelligible hints to be gleaned from the old poets and geographers, and in some degree from the rich stores of traditionary fiction in the middle ages, they have framed the strangest hypothesis. With one or two unimportant exceptions, which of them ever doubted that Tubal, the grandson of Noah, colonized the country 2163 years before Christ;* that the patriarch himself visited the founder, whom he cordially assisted in the great work of building towns and making constitutions; that Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, Atlas, Nebuchadnezzar, and a host of personages no less illustrious, made it the theatre of their exploits; or that the multitude of kings whose names and actions are so minutely recorded, reigned in it so many ages antecedent to all historic records?

The progress of fable is not difficult to be conceived, especially when a favorite system is to be supported. Rumors, at first broached with becoming diffidence, are eagerly seized by the credulous; obscure allusions are ingeniously cleared up; the feeble and uncertain light of tradition is accepted as a guide: to the mass of materials thus accumulated every succeeding age brings additions; until Fiction, invested with the venerable mantle of Time, usurps the place of indisputable authority, and calls on the world to bow down before her.

Did the Celts enter the Peninsula by the Pyrenees, or cross over from Africa? While the French writers maintain the former hypothesis, Masdeu† and other natives as obstinately assert the latter. But, as both parties are more swayed by national prejudice than by a desire to find the truth, their elaborate investigations have added little to our previous stock of knowledge. In the total absence, however, of all *positive* testimony, the fact cannot be ascertained by either. It would, indeed, be more reasonable to suppose that the stream of Celtic migration flowed over Europe from the Bosphorus to the Brit-

weighs little) also confirms the prevalence of the opinion in his age and country, when he boasts of his descent from the Iberians and Celts:—

"Ab Celtis genitus, et ex Iberis."—Lib. x. ep. 103.

And in another epigram—

"Ab Celtis genitus, Tagique civis ex Iberis."

* Will it be believed that this hypothesis is founded on an indefinite passage of Josephus?—*Κατοικίζει δὲ καὶ Θωβηλὸς Θωβηλούς, οἵτινες—νυν Ἰβηρες καλοῦνται.* Lib. i. cap. 6.

† *Historia Critica de España, y de la Cultura Española en todo Genero*, in 21 vols. 4to. Madrid. 1783—1804.

ish Isles, or even along the northern shores of the Mediterranean: we do not hear that they ever formed a single settlement on the southern. But who were the Celts? Were they really a distinct race; or was the term employed by the Greeks merely as a generic one, to designate the mountain inhabitants of western Europe as the Scythians of the northern? The latter supposition would be as plausible as the former.

The condition of the Iberians and Celts, prior to the irruptions of other nations, is described with much complacency by most Spanish writers.† According to them, governments were instituted; cities admirably policed; the arts and philosophy taught to flourish, when even Greece, the parent of European civilization, was involved in barbarism. Such dreams may amuse a patriotic fancy; but the severe hand of Truth would trace a very different picture: it would show us a country where, from the multitude of fierce and independent tribes, contests must have been frequent and inevitable; and where, from their savage habits, there could be no hope of security, much less of enjoyment. Every country has its golden age; and every one wisely removes it to an era beyond the sphere of history, where the imagination may luxuriate unchecked.

The character, indeed, of these tribes is represented as favorable to any thing but social tranquillity. Wherever there are mountains, there will be robbers, until the arts of life are known and practised, and lawless violence is repressed by the strong arm of authority. The mountaineers of the Peninsula, like those of Scotland and Wales, finding that the districts which they inhabited were too barren for their support, descended into the fertile plains, and carried away to their retreats both the cattle and the produce of the soil. Such aggressions could not be committed without contention between the plunderers and the plundered. Hence necessity taught both the use of arms, in which habit rendered them expert. Hence too, as all history shows us, the inhabitants of the mountains and of the plains adjoining have ever been distin-

* They are, says Herodotus, the most western people in Europe. What country could they inhabit—Ireland, Gaul, or Iberia? The father of history knew so little of the matter, that he places them at the mouth of the Ister or Danube. Appian says that the Celts are Gauls, and he is probably right. But whence came they into Gaul? As to the system of Masdeu, nobody but a Spaniard will adopt it: it has been framed only to escape the disgrace of deriving the Spanish nation from so odious a country as France. What author is it who says that a Spaniard begins to button his doublet at the top because a Frenchman begins at the bottom? That author knew the Spaniards well.

† See Garibay, Mariana, Ferreras, &c. who dwell with delight on the animated picture of ancient Spain as drawn by St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.

guished by a warlike and ferocious disposition. But, in the mixed condition of man, there are few evils unproductive of partial good. The courage which in a rude state of society stimulated to lawless strife, and fostered martial habits, would, in one more advanced, when the blessings of freedom were known and prized, resist the progress of foreign aggression. Accordingly, we find that the mountains have ever been the strong holds of independence. Those of Wales, Scotland, Switzerland, Calabria, the Asturias, and Greece, are renowned as the cradles of national liberty.

The arms of these people were simple, but formidable. Two lances, about three feet in length; a short sword; a pole, hooked at the end to seize the reins of horses; and a sling, were the most usual weapons of the combatants on foot. The horsemen were distinguished by sabres, sometimes by hatchets or ponderous mallets, but generally by lances about six feet long. Both were defended by bucklers; and, in addition, the latter cased their thighs in something on which the sword made no impression. When advancing to battle, each horseman had usually a foot soldier mounted *en croupe*, who alighted the moment the contest began, and closed with the enemy. The address of the former was remarkable: he could manage two horses at the same time, and could vault, with surprising ease and dexterity, from one to the other, even when proceeding at the most rapid rate.

Bull-fights appear to have been their favorite amusement from the earliest times. That this custom was not introduced by the Romans, is evident from its representation on ancient medals, and on a monument discovered at Clunia about half a century ago,—both unquestionably anterior to the domination of that people.

Their food was very frugal: a few dried acorns or chestnuts, with mead or cider, satisfied the moderate wants of several tribes; and though the inhabitants of the maritime districts were supplied with wine, and the richer portion throughout the country were no strangers to animal food, they observed, even in that barbarous era, a sobriety which contrasted strongly with the intemperance of more northern nations.* Even at great entertainments they had no tables; benches placed against the wall were the only accommodation provided for the guests. On these occasions music was introduced, and sometimes dancing: but from this latter exercise, and indeed from the feasts altogether, the women were excluded.

* The same moderation has, in all ages, honorably distinguished their descendants.

Their dress was no less simple. A garment of linen or leather, girt round the waist, with a cap for the head, constituted the soldier's covering: a woollen tunic of a black color, and descending to the feet, sometimes furnished with a hood like some of our modern cloaks for women,* was the habit of peace. The females, indeed, were no strangers to fantastic ornaments.

When any individual was afflicted with a serious disease, he was seated on the public thoroughfare, that the passer-by might have pity on him, and bring with him such remedies as had been proved efficacious in similar cases.

Justice was administered with severity. Capital delinquents were stoned to death, or hurled from the top of a precipice. Parricides were conducted beyond the bounds of the kingdom, and there slain; their very bones being considered too polluted to repose in their native soil.

The funerals of the great were very magnificent. The corpse was arrayed in costly attire, exposed, during some days, to the public gaze; and while religiously burning on the pile, the deeds and lineage of the deceased were proclaimed to the assembled multitude: military exercises were performed over the tomb. Not unfrequently the most intimate of his friends or companions in arms swallowed poison, disdaining to survive one from whom they had never been separated during life. Assuredly no attachments are so strong as those formed on the field of danger and of death. The Scandinavian annals present us with numerous examples of similar devotedness.

Agriculture was abandoned to the women, as an employment beneath the dignity of a warrior. The fair sex guided the oxen, held the plow, ground the corn, besides attending to their domestic concerns. On them, indeed, the whole drudgery of life rested then, as it does now, in that country.† When surprised by the pains of labor, they retired into a corner, no matter where; wrapt the infant stranger in a warm covering; and returned to their occupation, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. This would appear incredible, notwithstanding the experience of savage life, even in these days, were it not attested by authority too strong to be shaken.‡

* The *sagum cacullatum*, the use of which probably passed from Spain into Gaul and Italy.—Depping. This costume seems to exist in its greatest purity in Brabant.

† The Turk must yield to the Spaniard in laziness. The curse seems entailed on both nations to banish all enterprise, and to keep them in a state just a degree above negative existence. While the women are rivalling the very oxen they drive in labor, where are the men?—At the siesta, or perhaps coolly smoking a pipe within sight of their helpmates.

‡ Arabshah, in his life of Timur, tells us that among the wandering Tar-

There is reason to believe that the Celtiberian nations were not unacquainted with commerce, even before the invasion of the Phœnicians. But their trade was confined to the coasts, and consisted in the exchange of superfluities for the productions of the Mediterranean seas, especially for wine. Certain it is that they knew not the value of the precious metals until the avaricious Syrians compelled them to labor in the mines. From this period the riches of Spain were almost proverbial. Coins and medals of ancient dates—some representing the religious rites or ordinary pursuits of the people, others covered with Phœnician characters,—are frequently dug up, and made to throw light on this darkest period in their history. But iron was the mineral for which the country was most renowned. When turned into steel, the excellence of the swords and spears, and the perfection of the workmanship, made foreigners anxious to obtain them.*

The introduction of idolatry into Spain and Portugal was owing, it is said, to the Phœnicians: tradition affirms that, before their arrival, traces of the patriarchal, if not the Mosaic, dispensation were not wholly destroyed. But the Celts had previously settled in the country, and doubtless introduced a religious system distinct from that of the Syrians, and in many respects similar to that of the Gauls and Britons. If the knowledge and worship of one God ever existed there antecedently to the preaching of Christianity, it was probably confined to the Iberians, or to the inhabitants located in Spain before that enterprising people forsook their native mountains and forests.

The deities worshipped by the Tyrian colonies, and by them made known to the native tribes, were doubtless many in number; yet few remain either in ancient writers or on contemporary medals. Hercules, represented sometimes as a pilot, sometimes as grasping a bow, was an emblem of the sun. The moon was represented under the figure of a head with two horns, evidently intended for that of a bull or a cow. The former was called Baal, the latter Astarte or Astaroth. Probably they are the same as the Isis and Osiris of the Egyptians,

tars nothing is more common than for a woman when overtaken by labor, on a journey, to descend from her beast; retire a short distance from the path; give birth to her offspring; suspend it by a sort of shawl from her neck; remount, and proceed onwards; and all this without the least assistance from any living creature. The Syrian doctor's statement has been abundantly confirmed by subsequent travellers.

* During the war with Annibal, the Romans introduced into their armies the short Spanish sword, of which the blade was better tempered than those of any other country. The reputation of this weapon subsists to this day in the Toledo blade, which is both keener, and far less inclined to snap, than our brittle manufactures of Birmingham and Sheffield.

who always used the figure of a cow to represent the moon.* Hence the origin of several monuments distributed throughout the Peninsula. Stone bulls are frequently dug up at Beja, in Portugal: the bridge of Salamanca had formerly a huge one, much older than the bridge itself;† and originally an idol. One has also been lately discovered at Olesa in Catalonia; which is the more remarkable from the animal's head being accompanied by a human one, with four eyes and two horns, or wings.‡

The names of other deities are to be found inscribed on ancient remains; but their attributes and rites are wholly unknown, or very imperfectly understood. Of these, *Endovellicus*, or *Enobollicus*, or Endobelion, has the most inscriptions: but, as they are posterior to the invasion by Rome, the name may have been introduced by the people of that republic; or it may have been so latinized by them as to set at defiance every attempt of the etymologist to deduce it.§ Another deity, *Salambo*,|| was worshipped by the women of Seville: this is the name under which the Babylonians adored Venus. The rites celebrated in her honor in the latter city, perfectly resembled those used in the worship of the Greek Adonis. Astarte, Salambo, Isis, and Venus, are probably one and the same; and the favorite of the Cyprian goddess, under different names, may also be traced through the dark cloud which lowers over the still darker superstitions of Egypt, Syria, and Chaldea. A third divinity, *Ipsistos*, may have been introduced by the Greek colonists; who, as we shall hereafter observe, were located in Spain at a very remote period.¶ In the territory of Almeida

* That the full moon was the chief feast among the ancient Spaniards, is evident from the fact that *Agandia* or *Asteartia*, is the name for Sunday with the Basques.

† "Dize una historia que los Romanos hizieron la puente que ey en ella es. Al principio de la qual pusieron un toro de piedra de estraña grandeza que ahora alli parece."—*Libro de Grandezas y Casas Memorables de Espana*, fol. xcvi. (Seville, 1549). The idol has long been removed or destroyed.

‡ Depping (following Masdeu) thinks, and not without reason, that the human head is intended to represent the Phœnician Saturn, the husband of Astarte. The eyes and wings, emblematic of omnipresence and wisdom, are the attributes assigned to that deity by Sanconiathon in the fragment preserved by Eusebius.

§ The ancient Romans, like the modern French, had a peculiar aptitude at distorting proper names. Such names should in all cases be transferred without addition or change into other idioms: had this been done, we should have found the gods and heroes of antiquity much fewer in number, and their attributes and characters would have been better understood. Perhaps, as several writers conjecture, the *Endovellicus* of Spain, the *Bel-tueadrus* of Britain, the *Belenus* of Gaul, the *Abellio* of Noricum, the *Bel* of Chaldea, and the *Baal* of the Phœnicians, are one and the same deity.

|| See Hesychii Lexicon, Σαλαμβω ἡ Ἀφροδιτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους, tom. ii. col. 1143.

¶ Selden, De Diis Syriis, Syntagma 2. Martin, Religion des Gaulois, liv. ii. chap. 21, &c.

a cornelian ring was discovered, bearing an inscription sufficiently indicative of the god's power,—“Bring not on thyself or me the wrath of the god Ipsistos: it is a great name.”*

Other deities might be named, but they are too obscure to deserve the reader's notice. It must also be added, that the parts of the Peninsula inhabited by the Celtic tribes abounded with the mysterious stones which attest the rites and the impositions of the druids.†

The preceding observations apply to the collective mass of the Spanish nations. We proceed to examine the principal ones more in detail. A knowledge of their location is indispensable towards the understanding of their ancient history. Some other particulars concerning their habits and countries, when found to differ from the general description, are also added.

As before observed, the Peninsula, from the earliest known period, was split into a multitude of tribes, originally derived from two great races of nations. The Celts reigned in the north and west; the Iberians in the south and east.‡ A mixture of the two, the Celtiberians, from whom the whole population was named, possessed a great portion of the interior. Under these three general heads we shall class all the tribes of the country which made any figure in ancient history. Those of which the names only remain, and there are many of them, are omitted, since they would only form a barren and useless nomenclature.

It must, however, be premised, that though the classification adopted is sufficiently accurate for the present purpose, it is not proposed as strictly so. The expeditions of the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Carthaginians, and still more the migration of native tribes, doubtless gave rise to various modifications of society on the coasts, to the amalgamation of some states, and the formation of others.

* Τον θεον σοι Ὑψιστον μη με ασκησεις μεγα το ονομα. Ipsistos, the highest, was applied to Jove; and in the above case the term must have been applied to the chief deity, perhaps to the Unknown God, of whose existence, if not supremacy, an undefined impression may have lingered in the Peninsula during even the darkest period of idolatry.

† The other deities, generally considered as local, are Rauveana, Bandus, Baricæus, Navi, Eidnorius, Sutunius, Viacus, the Lugoves, Togotis (or Toxotis), Netoz (or Netuce), of whom the names only are preserved, and that too on inscriptions which require some ingenuity to decipher. All these, according to the zealous Masdeu (Hist. tom. viii. illus. xii.), are of foreign origin; not one ever known by Spain prior to the arrival of the Phœnicians. It would be as difficult to prove this statement as to disprove it. Where probability cannot be had, speculation is vain.

‡ This fact appears to be decisive of the Celts having entered Spain by the Pyrenees, and dislodged the Iberians from the north and west.

THE CELTS.*

The Celts consisted of five powerful tribes:—

1. The **ASTURIANS** (*Astures*), who inhabited a territory more extensive than the modern principality of the name; for it comprehended also a considerable portion of Leon and Old Castile. By the Romans it was generally confounded with the country of the Callaici or Gallicians.

The ultramontane Asturians, like their descendants at this day, dwelt in the gorges formed by the numerous ramifications of the mountains which traverse their country. These branches, called by the Spaniards *sierras*, sometimes *cerros*, are so near to one another, that many of the ravines between them are scarcely broad enough to serve as beds to the torrents which descend from the snow-clad mountains. The scene is often singularly romantic. Hills gradually ascending, many of them adorned with gloomy forests; cottages embosomed among them, and sending upwards their curling clouds of smoke; the noise of the torrents dashing among the rocks; the murmur of the trees when agitated by the wind; the working of the rustic mills,—for, shut out as these solitudes are from the rest of Spain,† the inhabitants are compelled to supply their own wants; the lowing of the cattle; the gambols of the young goats; and the cheerful songs of the laborers, who are industrious, innocent, and therefore happy,—form a pleasing picture to the contemplative no less than to the benevolent mind. In many of the valleys, and on the declivities of the less abrupt mountains, vegetation is flourishing; fruit-trees even are common, and corn is abundant. The sharp winds, which in other alpine districts blast the hopes of the husbandman, are here arrested by the everlasting ramparts of nature. A pure and invigorating atmosphere gives health and longevity to the frame.

The natural position of this country, while it averted from the inhabitants the curse of subjugation by Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, or Moors, preserved them from the contagion of the social vices, and cherished within them an ungovernable spirit of independence. In valor they were surpassed by no people of the Peninsula. Their ordinary clothing was the skin of a chamois. Their vigorous constitutions and industrious habits required some stronger support than fruits alone. Game, with which this region has always abounded, furnished them with a never-failing diet, and enabled them to

* For much of what follows in the next few pages we are indebted to Masdeu, and his judicious abbreviator, Depping. The preceding observations are chiefly derived from Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela.

† From some parts of the Asturias, corn, chestnuts, and flax are shipped to other ports along the coast, but in no great quantities.

undergo the severest labors. At home, they cultivated the ground; when occupied in war, this duty necessarily devolved on the women. The Romans succeeded in penetrating into such districts as abounded in gold; but the country was but partially known to them, much less subdued.

Nine other tribes were subject to the Asturians.*

2. The CANTABRES, who inhabited a territory comprising Biscay Proper, Guipuscoa, and Alva. It abounded in the precious metals, and above all in iron. The whole country, in fact, was one continuous series of mines. It was the arsenal of Spain, and even of foreign nations: it was the forge of Vulcan.† Its richness in these valuable minerals made it an object of cupidity to the Romans; but the hands which could manufacture weapons could also use them; and the independence of this hardy race was preserved. This consciousness of their strength gave them an air of calm dignity, and a decision in their purposes, which we should vainly seek in any other nation of the Peninsula. Passionately fond of their mountains, barren as those mountains are, and no less attached to war,—insensible to hunger, heat, and cold,—they were the terror of Rome.‡ They could not, indeed, live without some enemy to fight with: if taken prisoners, they generally committed suicide, not only from abhorrence of slavery, but from disgust of a life, which want of success made them consider dishonored. Sometimes they were put to death by the victors,—a fate which they met with songs of joy.

Their habits were rude. To cleanse the mouth daily with urine, and drink the blood of horses, must appear revolting to modern refinement. Their loud wailings at funerals, and

* "Regio ubique montuosa et aspera, et Hispaniæ pene dissimilis, Baccho prorsus inimica, Marti vero et Vulcano adeo amica, ut non immerito quis illius dei officinam vocet, ex quâ plenâ manu natura martio huic populo arma largiatur."—*Nonius*. Medina tells us (*Grandezas de España*, fol. cxxvi.) that the three hundred forges at work in his time produced, on an average, three hundred thousand quintals of iron. He adds, characteristically enough, that Cacus was the first to discover and work the Spanish mines:—"Leese que el primero homo que descubrio en España los minos de hierro fue Caco, el que primero labro armas."

† Florez, *España Sagrada*, passim; and Lemos, *Historia Geral de Portugal*, tom. i.

‡ "Cantaber ante omnes, hiemisque æstusque famisque
Invictus, palmamque ex omni ferre labore.
Mirus amor populo, cum pigra incanuit ætas,
Imbelles jamdudum annos prævertere saxo,
Nec vitam sine Marte pati." *Sill. Ital.*

The same horrid custom has prevailed in other countries. In modern times, this people preserve their martial reputation, and are not less famed for their open-hearted and cheerful disposition. "La gente destas provincias son de mas apacables corazones que las otras gentes de España, muy liberales y amigables. Son naturalmente gente alegre y placentera, muy ligeros y buenos para batallar."—*Grandezas de España*, fol. cxxvi.

many other of their customs, strongly resemble those of the Irish. In both countries,—as is the case, indeed, in all mountainous districts,—the national character has been singularly preserved, and ancient usages perpetuated.

In these solitudes many ancient remains are to be found: the tumuli and druidical monuments seem to prove both the Asiatic origin of the people, and their identity or subsequent amalgamation with the Celts. Their dress, indeed, at this day, is strikingly similar to that of the Tartars. "On Sundays," says a writer of the sixteenth century* (and the case is not different now,) "when they proceed to church, or when they appear in procession at any other solemnity, one would take them, at a distance, for a troop of Turks or Persians." The turbans of the women and the lances carried by the men, even when approaching the house of God,† may well warrant the remark.

Of the seven towns mentioned by Ptolemy, two only remain—Guevara and Tolono (anciently Gebata and Tulonio;) and of the various tribes, the Barduli were the most numerous and powerful. Seven others were subject to the Cantabres.‡

3. The VASCONES, who inhabited the country which extended over all the present kingdom of Navarre, and a great part of Aragon: it was bounded by Cantabria, the Pyrenees, the territory of the Ibergetes, and the Ebro.

The warlike spirit of the Basques was well known to the Carthaginians and Romans. Annibal enrolled many of them into his troops previously to his invasion of Italy; and many also served to prop for a time the declining fortunes of the republic in Africa. The barrenness of their native soil, and their addiction to a military life, rendered them willing to fight under the banners of any general who chose to employ them. Their costume and habits bore great resemblance to those of their neighbors, the Cantabrians.

What makes this people the most distinguished of any in the Peninsula is their famous language, which, under the name of Basque, has long exercised the ingenuity of the learned. Whether it be the ancient language of Spain, or whether it be identical with the Celtic, are problems of which we need not expect the solution. It seems, however, probable, from the number of Basque words throughout the topography

* Andr. de Poza in his dissertation on *La Antigua Lengua, &c. de las Españas* (as quoted by Masdeu.)

† These lances are left in the church porch until the conclusion of the service, and make the place more like a guard-house than a religious edifice.

‡ Florez, *España, Sagrada, passim*; and Lemos, *Historia Geral de Portugal*, tom. i.

of the Peninsula, that those writers may be right who contend for its universality in Spain at some remote period of antiquity. With respect to the second point, so little is known of the ancient Celtic, and it is so doubtful whether that reputed race ever possessed a common language, that all disputation on the subject must be idle. Between the dialects which remain of it and the Basque there is unquestionably an affinity: but so there is between the Basque and the Gothic, and even between that language and the Latin and Greek; and, for any thing we know, a still greater may have existed between it and the Phœnician. Laying aside the accident of inflection in the terminations of words, a greater affinity will be found among languages than we are apt to suspect. But, whether Celtic or Iberian, the construction of the Basque is Asiatic, and it is undoubtedly one of the most ancient idioms in the world.*

4. The GALLAICI, or Gallicians, who anciently occupied the whole of modern Galicia, and a portion of the kingdom of Leon: they possessed the sea-coast between the Asturias and Lusitania, and were separated by high mountains from the rest of the Peninsula.

Like all the tribes of Spain, especially the northern, these people were distinguished for their pugnacious disposition. As if nature had not sufficiently defended the country, numerous fortresses were spread over it,—probably intended to guard against the incursions of the pirates, whose depredations were frequent and terrible. From the most ancient times, as at present, their maritime superiority over all other nations of Spain is beyond dispute. The abundance of fish on their coasts, and the fertility of their soil, attracted the Phœnician and Carthaginian merchants to their ports, and rendered their condition uncommonly flourishing. Besides, they had numerous mines of the precious metals, and of tin. Gold, we are told, was so common that the laborers in the fields frequently dug up ingots several ounces in weight. This is exaggerated; but there can be no doubt that the mines were highly productive.

* On this subject the curious reader may consult Larramendi, *De la Antigüedad y Universalidad del Vascuense*, and the *Diccionario Trilingue*, Castellano, Vascuense y Latin, fol. 1746; *Apologia de la Lengua Bascongada*; &c. by Astartoa, 4to. Madrid, 1803; *Alfabeto de la Lengua Primitiva de España*, y Explicacion de sus mas Antiguos monumentos de inscripciones y Medallas, by Aspiros, 4to. Madrid, 1806; Masdeu, *España, Antigua*, tom. i. liv. 11. When he hears the Basque affirmed to be the only mother of European languages, and the most ancient on earth (la unica de la Europa, y la mas antigua del orbe,) as oral prior to the deluge, he may smile at the facility with which the feeblest bases may be made to support the most elaborate superstructions. Such creations vanish at the touch of criticism.

The natives worshipped chiefly the sun and moon, but that they had many other gods in common with the neighboring tribes, is incontestable from the inscriptions still extant. Fifteen neighboring tribes owned their supremacy.

5. The *LUSITANIANS*, who inhabited the western portion of the Peninsula, which was more extensive than the present kingdom of Portugal. It comprised, in addition, the two *Estrema*duras, and a portion of Castile and Leon.*

The tribes scattered over this extensive district were many, but all apparently derived from one common stock, the Celta. The most formidable of these were the *Catones*, the *Turdetani*, the *Turduli*, who were probably a tribe of the latter, and the *Lusitani*, from whom the country derived its name. Respecting the *Turdetani*, Strabo has some precious information. He says that they were the most learned tribe of all Spain; that they had reduced their language to grammatical rules; that for six thousand years they had possessed metrical poems, and even laws.† Discarding fable, we find nothing in their habits or manners to distinguish them from the other branches of that great race, except perhaps a superior number of druidical remains. They are represented as exceedingly wild and fierce; so much so that, if no foreign enemy appeared, they were sure to fight among themselves: but with equal propriety might the same be said of all the other tribes in the Peninsula.

THE IBERIANS.

The numerous tribes of this nation occupied, as before observed, the southern and eastern provinces of the Peninsula. Their territory was so extensive, that from them the whole of Spain was sometimes called Iberia.

Their most southern province was *Bætica*; but, from the perpetual influx of strangers to these shores, the formation of new settlements, and still more from the junction of the natives with the colonists, it is difficult to determine what portion of the province was inhabited by the genuine Iberians. The *Turdetani* seem to have inhabited a portion of *Lusitania* as well as of *Bætica*. The *Betures* or *Beturiani* occupied the north-western division; the *Bastuli* the southern, now comprised in the modern *Granada*; and the *Turduli* from the

* The eastern boundary of *Lusitania* extended nearly to Toledo.

† Strabo, lib. iii. The Spaniards eagerly seize the testimony of this writer to prove their ancient civilization; but they are sadly puzzled how to reconcile these 6000 years with the Mosaic chronology. Masdeu reduces the year to three months, making only 1500 years from the settlement of the Phœnicians to the time of Strabo.

Straits of Gibraltar to Cordova. Probably the two last-named people were Phœnicians and Carthaginians; with, however, a considerable admixture of native blood. Bætica, indeed, has been termed a Carthaginian province.

Proceeding from the Straits of Gibraltar along the coast of Bætica, and passing the Bastuli, we come to the *Bastitani*. Their country comprised most of Murcia, and was intersected by the Tadder, now the Segura. It contained fifteen towns, exclusive of the ports.

The *Contestani* extended from Carthagera to the river Xucar, formerly Sucro, and westward to the mountain range of Idubeda: their territory, consequently, embraced a portion of Murcia and Valencia. It had several ports, of which the most famous was Carthagera, built by the Carthaginians.

To the north of this tribe were the *Edetani*. Their maritime coast was but small, extending only from the Sucro to the Uduba; but to the north and west their territory stretched much more considerably. It comprised a portion of Valencia and Aragon. Its ports were numerous, the principal of which were the Salduba, now Saragossa on the Ebro; Valencia; and Saguntum, now Murviedro.

The *Ilercatones* lay on the coast from the Uduba beyond the Iberus or Ebro, comprising a considerable portion of Valencia. From the Greeks, who at an early period entered into communication with them, they learned the advantages of commerce. Hibera, towards the mouth of that great river, now probably Amposta; Tenebrius, nearer to the sea, protected by the promontory of that name; Dertosa, now Tortosa, higher up the Ebro; and Biscargis, which may now be Morella, were flourishing ports.

The *Cosetani* were also a maritime tribe, on the sea-coast of Catalonia, as far as the river Llobregat: their capital was Tarrago, now Tarragona.

The *Laletani* lay nearer to the Pyrenees, and extended to the Ter: their capital was the renowned city of Barcino, now Barcelona, built by the Carthaginians.

Between this people and the Pyrenees lay the *Indigetes*. On this coast the Greeks founded two flourishing colonies, Emporium, now Ampurius; and Rhodia, now Rosas.

To the west of these and of the Laletani were the *Ilergetes*, whose capital was Ilerda, now Lerida, and who were the most valiant of the tribes inhabiting Catalonia and Aragon. The *Ausetani* and the *Laletani* either formed a portion of the same tribe, or were dependent on them.

Of the Iberian people, in general, we have less information than might be expected from their continued intercourse with

other nations. They are represented as tenacious of freedom; but those who inhabited the coasts were probably still more so of gain. The women were employed in the cultivation of flax; and the most industrious among them, we are told, were rewarded with annual prizes. The men are said to have been remarkably slender and active, and to have held corpulency in much abhorrence. Their chief deities were the sun and moon.

THE CELTIBERIANS.

The region inhabited by this mixed race was unequal. It seems at different periods to have possessed very different dimensions. In the most ancient times, on the junction of the Iberians and Celts, it must have comprised the greater part, if not the whole, of Spain. But when Celtiberia was restricted to the country inhabited by a central people, as at the time of the Roman invasion, it comprised the Two Castiles; subsequently, when the various tribes combined under Viratus to shake off the Roman domination, it was still further circumscribed. But even in this period it was very powerful. It was bounded on the east by Aragon and Valencia, on the south by the Bastitani, and on the north by the tribes bordering on Cantabria. The western boundary is not so clear: probably the *Carpetani*, whom Strabo places in that direction, and even the *Orretani*, whom he settles to the south-west, were but tribes, however powerful, of the great Celtiberian nation.* If so, their country must have stretched to the very frontiers of Lusitania, or at least to those of Estremadura, which indeed formed a part of Lusitania. "The country," says Strabo, "was divided into four great tribes, of whom the Arevaci were the most powerful. It was not so fertile as Murcia or Valencia, but it abounded in cattle and game."

As the Celtiberians were an amalgamation of the Iberians and Celts, their character and habits may be naturally expected to partake of both. This was, indeed, the case, but not in an

* Of this opinion, which is so consonant with probability, are most historians. The words of Mariana, speaking of these and some other tribes, are explicit:—"Todos pueblos comprendidos en el distrito de los Celtiberios, y emparentados con ellos."—*Historia de España*, tom. i. p. 25. The *Oleades* were in the centre, and were evidently Celtiberians.

In locating a few of the numerous tribes of the Peninsula, we have been obliged to dissent in some points from the authority of D'Anville, and even from that of Maudeu. We have never done so, however, without much diffidence, nor without a renewed examination of the subject. After all, accuracy must not be expected on points about which no two writers perfectly agree—no two at least who examine for themselves. When we find uniformity of opinion,—and there is enough of it assuredly,—on the location of the various tribes, we may always suspect that the labor of inquiry has been avoided.

equal degree; the characteristic features of the Celts were more predominant.

Besides the deities mentioned in the course of this introduction as worshipped by the Spanish tribes, the Celtiberians had one, we are told, peculiar to themselves, the name of which they never pronounced. Its rites were celebrated at the full moon, during the silence of the night. Now, we know that, at the same season, nocturnal honors were paid in Phœnicia to a divinity, which the learned suppose to be Astarte; but Astarte we have before conjectured to be the same with Venus,—and what has this sensual goddess in common with the chaste planet? Whether Diana may not have been celebrated, or whether the inhabitants may not have derived the superstition from some other source than either Greeks or Romans, must remain in everlasting darkness. The probability, however, is, that the worship of Diana was propagated in Spain by the Rhodians, who founded a magnificent temple to her honor in their colony of Rhodia.

Some enthusiastic admirers of the Celts have contended that the druids taught a pure morality, the existence of one God, and the immortality of the soul. Whatever might be their morality, (its excellence may, however, be reasonably doubted,) that their religious rites were of the most horrid description need not be proved here. The subversion of their blood-stained altars by the Romans entitles that nation to the gratitude of posterity.

The Celtiberians were a very brave nation. They did not wait for the enemy, but sought him out; they did not fight from behind intrenchments, but openly and manfully. Strong, vigorous, hardy, and full of courage, they are represented by their countryman, the celebrated epigrammatist, as a perfect contrast to the voluptuous Roman.* They had not, however, the unbending resolution, persevering energy, and native grandeur of the Cantabrians. They were too much elated by success, and too much depressed by failure; they were, in short, a sordid and selfish race, as may be abundantly collected from their conduct in the Roman wars.

* Martial, lib. x. epigr. 65. But we must make some allowance for the nationality of this writer. When, in addressing Carmention, he says,—

*"Os blæsum tibi debilisque lingua est,
Nobis filia fortius loquetur."*

he is either caricaturing, or the Celtiberian ladies must have had wonderful lungs,—no great recommendation for wives. In

*"Tam dispar aquile colomba non est
Nec dorcas rigido fugax leoni,
Quare, desine me vocare fratrem
Ne te, Carmention, vocem sororem."*

there is quite as much spite as either poetry or truth.

EARLY HISTORY.

The Phœnicians, as already observed, were the first who, attracted by the never-failing instinct of gain, directed their course to a country which promised the highest advantages to their commerce. The precise period of their entering into relations with the inhabitants is unknown; doubtless it was before the foundation of either Carthage or Rome.* For some time their settlements, of which Gades, now Cadiz, was the first and most powerful, were confined to the coasts of Bætica, whence they supplied the natives with the traffic of Asia Minor and the shores of the Mediterranean, in exchange for the more valuable productions of the Peninsula, such as gold, silver, and iron.† Previously to their arrival, the use of these metals was, it is said, unknown to the Celts and Iberians. At first, for the convenience of their trade and the worship of their gods, they obtained permission to build magazines and temples: these soon expanded into villages, and the villages into fortified towns. Besides, Cadiz, Malaga, Cordova, and other places of minor note, were monuments of their successful enterprise, and proofs of their intention to fix their permanent abode in a country on which nature had lavished her choicest gifts. In time they penetrated into the interior, and arrived in the heart of the mountainous districts of the north, probably to superintend the operations of the mines which they had prevailed on the natives to open. Coins, medals, and ruins, attesting their continued location, have been found in most provinces of Spain, and even at Pampeluna in Navarre. Almost everywhere have they left traces of their existence, not only in medallic and lapidary inscriptions, but in the religion, language, and manners of the people.

It is possible, however, that the residence of this people in

* Masdeu fixes the chronology very satisfactorily to himself. In the twenty-second century before Christ the Phœnicians made their first rude attempts at navigation; in the twentieth they ventured as far as Egypt; in the nineteenth they visited Argos; in the seventeenth they had good ports and arsenals; in the sixteenth they first appeared on the coasts of Spain; in the fifteenth they colonized Cadiz; in the twelfth they constructed the famous fleet which aided Semiramis in the invasion of India; in the eleventh they taught navigation to the Jews; in the seventh they sailed around the whole continent of Africa, from the Arabian sea to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the pillars of Hercules!

† Aristotle is very much unlike himself, and shows much more credulity than philosophy, when he makes the Phœnicians acquire at Tarifa (then Tartessus) a quantity of silver so prodigious that the ships could not carry it; and that their anchors and commonest implements were of the same precious metal. The exaggeration, however, only proves, perhaps, the abundance of silver in the country. Bætica, where the Tyrians were most numerous and the longest located, is said to have been as rich as any part of Spain.

Spain may have been confounded with that of the Carthaginians. The similarity in language, manners, and superstitions might naturally have diminished the distinction between the two nations, and in time destroyed it. The uncertainty which hangs over this period, and the apparent incongruity of the few dates handed down to us, with the transactions which accompany them, confirm the suspicion. The whole period, indeed, from the first settlement of the Tyrians to the wars between the rival republics of Rome and Carthage, is too conjectural to deserve the name of historical, though some few facts are seen to glimmer through the profound darkness which surrounds them.

The successful example of the Phœnicians stimulated the Greeks to pursue the same advantages. About eight or nine hundred years before Christ, the Rhodians arrived on the coast of Catalonia, and founded a town, which they called *Rhodia* (*Rosas*) from the name of their island. They were followed by the Phocians, to whose maritime enterprise the father of history bears testimony. These also founded a town on the same coast; and as their resources increased, so did their ambition: they dispossessed their countrymen of *Rosas*, and extended their settlements along the shores of Catalonia and Valencia. Other expeditions departed from the numerous ports of Greece, towards the same destination, but at intervals considerably distant from one another, and gave names to new establishments, some of which may be still recognized, notwithstanding the changes that time has made.

It does not appear that either the Phœnicians or the Greeks aimed at domination; the towns which they founded, and continued to inhabit, were but so many commercial depôts; populous indeed, but filled with peaceable citizens, whose lucrative occupations afforded them neither time nor inclination for hostilities. Not so with the Carthaginians, who joined all the avarice of merchants to all the ambition of conquerors.*

B. C. The African republic had long watched with jealousy
480. the progressive prosperity of the Tyrians, and waited for an opportunity of supplanting them. That opportunity at length arrived. The avarice of these merchants had caused them to adopt measures which the high-spirited natives considered as oppressive. A dispute arose: both parties resorted to arms; and, after a short struggle, the lords of the deep were forced to give way before their martial enemies. Several of the Phœnician settlements fell into the hands of the

* Herodotus, lib. i. Strabo, lib. iii. et iv. Pliny, lib. xvi. Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. Mariana, tom. i. p. 391. Masdeu, *España Antigua*, part 2. Maurice, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi.

victors; who appeared bent on rescuing their soil from these all-grasping strangers. Seeing Cadiz itself threatened, the latter implored the assistance of the Carthaginians, who had already a settlement on the little island of Iviza. The invitation was eagerly accepted; perhaps, as has been asserted, the Carthaginians had fomented the misunderstanding, and urged it to an open quarrel. However this be, they landed a considerable force on the Bætican coast; and, after a few struggles, the details of which we should vainly attempt to ascertain, they triumphed over both Phœnicians and natives, and seized on the prize they had so long coveted. Thenceforth Cadiz served as a strong-hold whither they could retreat whenever danger pressed too heavily, and as an arsenal where fetters might be manufactured for the rest of Spain.

The progress of the Carthaginian arms, we are told, was irresistible; it was not however rapid, if any reliance is to be placed on the dates of ancient writers: the provinces of Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia, did ^{a. c.} not acknowledge the supremacy of the republic until, ^{235.} with some other provinces, they were overrun, rather than subdued, by Hamilcar, father of the great Annibal; and most of the warlike nations in the interior, especially in the mountainous districts, never afterwards bent their necks to the yoke, though the veteran armies of Africa were brought against them.* From this tardy success of that republic during more than two centuries previous to Hamilcar, we should infer either that she contented herself with advantages purely commercial,—an inference at variance with the whole tenor of her policy,—or that her transactions in the Peninsula have been confounded with those of the parent state of Tyre.†

Eight years were spent by the Carthaginian general in extending and consolidating his new conquests. He had need of all his valor,—and few captains had ever more,—to quell the perpetual incursions of tribes glorying in their independence, and strangers to fear. For this purpose he built several fortresses (the important city of Barcelona is said to have been among the number), in which he distributed a portion of his troops to overawe the surrounding country; while, with

* *Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ*, says Appian, *Βαρκας μὲν τὸν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίας καθίσταμενος*, &c. This is very loose.

† The usual computation makes the Carthaginians land in Spain near five hundred years B. C. "Otros," says Mariana, "señalan que fue esto no mucho antes de la primera guerra de los Romanos con los Cartaginenses." Perhaps the year of Rome has sometimes been confounded with the year before Christ.

another portion, he moved from place to place, as occasion required his presence. Probably his severity alienated the minds of the people from the domination he labored to establish. He was checked in the career of his conquests by the Edetani and Saguntines, who openly revolted, and made vigorous preparations for their defence. He fell upon them; but neither the number of his forces nor his own bravery could succeed against men to whom the hope of freedom and of revenge gave irresistible might. Two thirds of his army perished, and himself among the number. His son Annibal being too young to succeed him, the administration of the Carthaginian provinces, and the conduct of the war, devolved, by a decree of the senate, on his son-in-law, Asdrubal.*

The new governor perhaps equalled the preceding one in courage, and exceeded him in prudence. Those whom his arms could not easily subdue, he took care to have for his allies; and he adopted towards the natives a line of conciliation to which they had hitherto been strangers. In this, however, he was more guided by policy than inclination: he could be cruel when he chose; but as there is reason to believe that he aimed at an independent sovereignty, he wished to secure their support in the event of a struggle with Carthage. Punic loyalty, like Punic faith, could subsist no longer than a regard to self-advantage would permit.

The city of Carthagena, which Asdrubal founded on the modern gulf of that name, and which he furnished with an admirable harbor, was the most glorious monument of his administration. It might also be called the most guilty; for that he intended it as the seat of his future royalty, appeared more than probable from the tenor of his policy, and from the fact that he erected in it a magnificent palace for his own accommodation. The success of his arms, the nature of his designs, which evidently tended to some great end, his talents, his ambition, roused the fears both of the Greek colonies on the coast of Catalonia and Valencia, and of several independent nations in the interior. Both viewed with alarm his rapid strides towards the universal subjection of the Peninsula; and as they were too feeble to oppose him with any force they could muster (some of the most powerful native tribes were his tributaries or allies), they resolved to call in a third power, which had long regarded with jealousy the growing prosperity of Carthage, and envied that republic the possession of a country so admirably adapted to the purposes of commerce and war, and so rich in resources as to appear inexhaustible.

* Polybius, lib. iii. cap. 27, &c. Livy, lib. xx. &c.

Rome eagerly embraced the cause of the discontented states;—probably, indeed, she had secretly fomented ^{B. C.} that discontent. She dispatched ambassadors to the ^{227.} Peninsula, to sound the dispositions of other nations, and thereby to ascertain the degree of support on which she might rely in the event of a rupture with Carthage. Finding that a general aversion to the Punic yoke really existed, and that she was at all times sure of making Spain the theatre of contention between her and her rival, she began to act with more decision. In the character of ally and protector of the confederate states, she sent a deputation to Carthage, which obtained from the senate two important concessions:—1. That the Carthaginians should not push their conquests beyond the Ebro; 2. That they should not disturb the Saguntines and the other Greek colonies.

Though Asdrubal was made acquainted with these concessions, and even promised to observe them, nothing was farther from his purpose than to relinquish the gigantic designs he had formed. He silently collected troops, resolved to make a final effort for the entire subjugation of Spain before Rome could succor the confederates. In three years, his formidable preparations being completed, he threw off the mask, and marched against Saguntum. On his way, however, he was assassinated by the slave of a man whose master, a native prince, ^{222.} he had put to death.* The attachment of this slave to his master's memory could be equalled only by the unshaken firmness with which he supported the incredible torments inflicted on him by the fierce Annibal.

This famous Carthaginian was in his twenty-fifth year when he succeeded to the post of his deceased brother. He was more to be dreaded than all his predecessors united. To military talents and personal valor perhaps unexampled in any age, he joined astonishing coolness of judgment and inflexibility of purpose. While Asdrubal was actuated only by selfish considerations, he recognized as the great principle of his actions, revenge—revenge against the bitter enemy of his country, and still more against the destroyers of his kindred. There is a moral grandeur in this all-engrossing purpose of Annibal, which, notwithstanding its fell malignity, unaccountably rivets our admiration.

The young hero lost no time in extending his conquests, and amassing resources for the grand approaching struggle with the Romans. Having subdued some warlike tribes of

* Polybius (lib. ii. cap. 3.) says that he was murdered one night in his tent by a certain Gaul, in revenge of some private injury. The variation in the account is exceedingly slight.

modern Castile and Leon,* and brought into full activity some rich silver mines at the foot of the Pyrenees, he marched at the head of 150,000 men against Saguntum, which he invested in due form. In vain did the Roman deputies whom the senate dispatched for the purpose, intimate to him that an attack on the ally of the republic would be regarded as a declaration of war against the republic herself. He had vowed the destruction of the city. Yet, though he pressed the siege with the utmost vigor, such was the valor of the defenders, that neither his mighty genius for war, nor his formidable forces, could reduce the place in less than nine months: it would not even then have fallen, had not famine proved a deadlier enemy than the sword. Every assault was long repulsed with heavy loss to the assailants, and sorties were frequently made by the besieged into his very camp,—never without success. On one of these occasions Annibal himself was dangerously wounded; yet he did not long suspend the operations. The breaches which the battering engines made in the walls were repaired with incredible activity. Unfortunately, however, for the Saguntines, they had to do with a man whom disappointment only nerved to greater exertions. To place his soldiers on a level with those who fought from the ramparts, he invented moving towers on which the Carthaginians were wheeled to the walls, and from which they were able to oppose the citizens on equal terms. The latter, at length, finding that their enemy was more like a demon than a man; that the attacks were more frequent than ever; and, above all, feeling that they were worn out by hunger and fatigue, retired into the midst of the city to await the final struggle with the Africans. But it appeared dishonorable to themselves thus to flee from the enemy: their destruction they knew to be inevitable, but they resolved that the last act of this fearful tragedy should be a suitable consummation of the preceding horrors. Having amassed all their valuable effects, and every thing combustible, into one pile, and placed their wives and children around it, they issued from the gates, and plunged into the midst of the surprised enemy. The slaughter was prodigious on both sides; but, in the end, numbers and strength prevailed against weakness and desperation: the Saguntines were cut off almost to a man. No sooner was their fate known in the city than their wives, who were in

* Among these were the Carpetani (whom Polybius, lib. iii. cap. 1. erroneously calls the Carpesii) and their allies the Olcades, both, as before observed, of the great Celtiberian stock. On the banks of the Tagus, the Carthaginian general is said to have encountered and defeated above one hundred thousand of the barbarians. This is an exaggeration one should scarcely have expected from this judicious historian.

expectation of the result, set fire to the pile, and cast both themselves and children into the devouring element. The city in flames soon discovered the catastrophe to the Carthaginians, who immediately entered, and put what few stragglers they could find—chiefly the aged of both sexes—to the sword.* Some, however, had previously secured their safety by flight.†

Thus perished one of the most flourishing cities of Spain, and which will be for ever memorable in the annals of mankind. Its destruction hastened, if it did not occasion, the second Punic war.‡

Rome, whose neglect in securing her ally, drew on her the execration of the Peninsula, now equipped her powerful armaments for a grand struggle on the soil of Spain with her ambitious and vindictive rival. Annibal mustered his forces for the invasion of Italy. With the exploits of the Carthaginian hero beyond the bounds of the Peninsula this compendium has no concern. While he is spreading destruction around him, and the towers of "the eternal city" themselves are tottering, our task must be to cast a hurried glance at the transactions which, after the invasion of Scipio, happened in the country he had left behind.

The Carthaginian yoke is allowed on all hands to have been intolerable. The avidity with which the local governors sought pretexts for seizing on the substance of the natives; the rigor with which some of the captive tribes were made to labor in the mines; the exactions of a mercenary and haughty soldiery; the insolence of success on the one hand, and the smart of wrongs endured on the other; prepared the way to the commotions which shook all Spain to its centre, and ultimately ended in the destruction of its oppressors.

* For an interesting account of this siege, the reader is referred to Livy. It is improbable, however, that the destruction was so universal as is affirmed. Polybius says it was stormed and plundered; but he makes no mention of the conflagration or the self-immolation.

† Livy, Polybius, Florus, Cornelius Nepos, Aurelius Victor, Plutarch, *passim*.

‡ Polybius (lib. iii. chap. 1.) very judiciously observes, that the taking of Saguntum and the passage of the Ebro were not the causes, but the opening, of the second Punic war. Neither, he says, was the cause the private revenge of Annibal, but it was derived from antecedent events, especially from the hatred of Amilcar to the Roman name, and the mortifications he felt at the reverses his arms had experienced in Sicily. That hatred he transmitted to Adrubal and his son Annibal, who did no more than persevere in his policy. The historian, however, might have added, that though the train was laid, a spark was wanting to explode it, and that spark was the siege of Saguntum.

BOOK I.

THE PENINSULA UNDER THE ROMANS.

CHAP. I*

B. C. 218.—A. D. 409.

VIEW OF SPANISH HISTORY TO THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN SWAY.

No sooner was the fall of Saguntum known at Rome, than ambassadors were again dispatched to the Peninsula, to form a confederation of the tribes adverse to the Punic yoke. They were coolly received:—"Are you not ashamed, ye Romans," exclaimed the venerable chief of an Iberian people, "to expect that we shall prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians? Can you make us so soon forget your infidelity towards the Saguntines, who perished not through the valor of the enemy, but your perfidy? Go, seek elsewhere for allies and friends, where the tragic fate of Saguntum is yet unknown!" In confusion too great to admit of a reply, they withdrew, to try the effect of their entreaties on other tribes; but though a few turned a favorable ear to their proposals, their mission on the whole was unsuccessful, and they returned disappointed to Rome.

Meanwhile, however, Cnæus Scipio, the lieutenant of his brother Publius the consul, landed at Ampurias in Catalonia, with 10,000 infantry and 700 horse, (at the same time Annibal was marching through Gaul on the way to Italy, to destroy the very name of Rome, and to free the world*,) an armament evidently inadequate to the importance of the expedition. Conscious of his weakness, this general proceeded with the utmost caution. His first object was to gain over the Iberian tribes north of the Ebro. This he at length effected by his personal influence, rather than by that of his country. He went familiarly among them; addressed them on all occasions with

* It will save the necessity of continual reference to Authors, to state here, that for the most part of the present chapter we are indebted to Livy, Polybius; Appian, Roman. Hist. and de Bell. Hisp.; Orosius, Florus, Salust; Caesar, with Hirtius Pansa's continuation; Dion Cassius, and to the biographers Nepos, Aurelius Victor, and Plutarch. There is no necessity for minutely particularizing passages which must be present to the memory of every scholar.

† "Ad delendum nomen Romanorum, liberandumque orbem terrarum."—*Liv. lib. xxi.*

the greatest affability; behaved to them not merely with kindness but affection; persuaded them that his chief desire was their independence and welfare, and flattered their self-love by paying the highest compliments to their bravery. Conduct so unexampled and unexpected brought numbers round his ensigns: he was soon strong enough to contend with Hanno, the Carthaginian general, who commanded in Catalonia, and whom he defeated with heavy loss.

The ensuing campaigns corresponded with so auspicious a beginning. A naval victory gained over the Carthaginian fleet at the mouth of the Ebro, placed at his command the whole maritime coast from Murcia to the Pyrenees. The plunder of the Punic colonies incited his soldiers to more vigorous operations; the adhesion to his cause of the Celtiberian tribes, and the arrival of his brother Publius Cornelius Scipio, his superior in command, with a considerable reinforcement, were still more encouraging. They defeated Asdrubal, the Punic general in chief, in three decisive engagements, and forced him to take refuge within the walls of Carthagera. So rapid and so complete were the triumphs of the Romans, that Spain was now regarded as a province of the republic. And well it might; for of the numerous fortresses on the coast, not more than three or four now held for the Carthaginians.

But Asdrubal had many great qualities in common with Annibal, his heroic brother. Not the least of these were the fortitude with which he bore reverses, and the activity with which he sought to repair them. Having procured two reinforcements from Carthage, and strengthened himself, in imitation of the two Scipios, with alliances both in the interior of the country and from Africa, he resolved to make a vigorous stand for the preservation of the Punic possessions still remaining, or at least to fight his way to the Pyrenees, and proceed as he had been ordered by his government to join his brother in Italy, the sun of whose fortunes was now beginning to decline. This junction the Scipios dreaded. To oppose his passage, as well as to strike a final blow for the undisputed supremacy of the Peninsula, they collected a formidable host, chiefly by admitting into their ranks, on regular pay,* the warlike nations of Celtiberia. Elated with this advantage, they divided their forces, and advanced, confident of success, against Asdrubal and Mago. Cnæus was opposed to the former, and Publius to the latter.

* These were the first mercenaries ever admitted into the armies of Rome. The example proved more than impolitic; it was fatal in its consequences.

n. c.
212 The domination of Carthage, however, was not yet to reach its limit. The wily Asdrubal, by offering the Celtiberians, through his emissaries of the same nation, an equal amount of pay if they would return to their native forests, succeeded in detaching those formidable barbarians from the cause of Rome. In vain did Cnæus Scipio use entreaties and menaces to induce them to remain. By their desertion, and with no more than half the legions of his countrymen, he found himself too weak to risk an action. Accordingly he fell back, to effect a junction with his brother, or at least to collect new resources to meet the unexpected loss he had sustained.

But the tide of events had changed for a season. While Cnæus retreated before the now triumphant Asdrubal, Publius was routed and slain by Mago, and his army almost exterminated. The victor united with Asdrubal, and the two went in pursuit of the fugitive Roman. They found him intrenched on a little hill. At the first shock his troops were dispersed: many were slain; but a number fled, with their general, to a neighboring tower, which was soon stormed, and all within put to the sword.* The rest effected their escape to the camp of their countrymen, near the Ebro.

Thus perished two able captains, on whose arms, during six eventful years, conquest had never ceased to smile. Little more than a month was required to undo their glorious work, and hurl these lords of Spain from sovereignty to despair and death. Reverses so sudden and so fatal even history, full as it is of its vicissitudes, can seldom show us.

The despair of the Roman soldiers at the fall of their chiefs inclined them to submit with indifference to the will of the victors. Sighs, and groans, and womanish tears unnerved their courage, and would have rendered them the unresisting victims of the enemy, had not their sorrow been converted into rage by the address of Lucius Martius, one of their generals, who exhorted them to revenge the death of the Scipios, or meet their own. Already were the Carthaginians under As-

* "Cn. Scipionem alii in tumultu primo impetu hostium cæsum tradunt; alii cum paucis in propinquam castris turrim perfugisse. Hanc igni circumdatum, atque ita exactis foris, quæ nulla moriri potuerunt vi, captam; omnesque intus cum imperatore occisos."—*Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 37.* The latter statement is the more generally received.

The sites of these two battles are supposed by Masdeu (tom. iv. part i. p. 53.) to be in the kingdom of Valencia, on the borders of Aragon. He is probably much nearer the truth than Mariana, who places the one in Andalusia, the other in Murcia; or than Ferreras, who prefers New Castile and Andalusia. The monument near Tarragona, called *the tower of the Scipios*, is certainly not the tomb of those heroes; but the perpetuity of the tradition through so many ages, affords some confirmation to the conjecture that it was in the neighborhood.

drubal (the son, not of Amilcar, but of Gisgo) near their fortified camp, when they were roused from their despondency, and drawn up to receive the enemy. Their determined attitude was not lost on the latter; who, as if seized by a panic, fell back on the Punic intrenchments. In the silence of night, Martius led them to the camp of Asdrubal, which, strange to say, was not watched by a single sentinel, and penetrated into the tents without opposition. With a loud shout they commenced the work of destruction. Some killed the enemy but half-awakened; some set fire to the tents; others guarded the gates, to intercept the flight of the alarmed fugitives.* The flames, the clamor, the butchery, gave to this fearful scene a character truly infernal, and rendered it impossible for the victims to hear one another, much more to deliberate. Those who attempted to flee from the slaughter were cut down at the gates; those who leaped the ditch, and reached the neighboring woods, encountered the same fate by falling into the ambush which Martius had laid for them. When this dreadful massacre was over, the Romans proceeded to the camp of Mago, to renew the same bloody scene. They forced the gates, and penetrated into the tents; but dawn appeared, and though they killed many, more escaped. The slaughter on these occasions was undoubtedly great, but far short of the extent assigned by some historians.†

Grateful to the man who had preserved them from utter destruction, the Roman army proclaimed Martius ^{B. C.} their captain; but an authority not conferred by the ^{211.} senate gave umbrage to that jealous body, and Martius was superseded. The incapacity, however, of the new general was so glaring, that he was soon compelled to resign his authority into the hands of the famous Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, son of the hero of that name whose fate has just been noticed.

Whether by piety or hypocrisy, this extraordinary man, then only in his twenty-fourth year, had thus early obtained the reputation of holiness in his native city of Rome. He was believed, and perhaps believed himself, to be an especial favor-

* "Pars semisopitos hostes cædunt; pars ignis escas, stramenta arida testis injiciunt; pars portas occupant, ut fugam intercludant. Hostes simul ignis, clamor, cædes, velut alienatos sensibus, nec audire, nec providere quicquam sinunt."—*Liv.* lib. xxv. cap. 40. The whole account is given in the historian's best style.

† "Ad triginta septem millia hostium cæsa, auctor est Claudius, qui annales Acilianos ex Græco in Latinum sermonem vertit,—captos ad mille octoginta." &c.—*Liv.* xxv. 40. This is evidently an exaggeration, as is also probably the statement of Valerius Antias, who reduces the number to 17,000. The majority of the Carthaginian troops were in neither camp, but with Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, then at Carthægena.

ite of the gods.* Certain it is, that he was conscious of powers within him which required only the assistance of opportunity to effect the highest things.

When Scipio landed in Spain at the head of a considerable armament, he found that the report of the divine favor had procured him that of men. The renown, too, of his father and uncle, whose memory was no less cherished by the natives round Tarragona than by the Romans themselves, smoothed the rugged path which lay before him. Like them, he appeared among the people more as a friend than as a master. The latter renewed their alliances with the republic, and promised their support.

The Carthaginians watched his progress with much anxiety; and prepared to sustain the storm, burst wherever it might. When the campaign opened, Asdrubal, the brother of Annibal, lay at Saguntum, which had been rebuilt by the Scipios; the other Asdrubal was in Bætica, opposite to Cadiz; and Mago was between New Castile and Andalusia. To divide their forces at such a time, and when called to oppose such a man, was a fatal error. Without seeking out any of the three, as his predecessors would have done, he marched to Carthagera, the metropolis of the Punic possessions in Spain, and closely invested it. So bold a stroke was little anticipated by any one. In vain did Mago advance to relieve it: it fell, after a short but vigorous siege. Its riches became the prey of the new general; and Mago himself was among the numerous prisoners made on that occasion.†

The well-known behavior of Scipio to the betrothed of Alucius, a Spanish prince in alliance with Carthage, has done more for his fame than all the victories he ever gained. And in this respect he deserves the higher praise, as chastity was not in the catalogue of his virtues. Perhaps the estimation in which female honor was held by the natives might have strengthened the resolution of a mind naturally noble. That it was so held, is as indisputable as it is pleasing. Among the prisoners found in this celebrated city were the wife of Mar-donius and the daughters of Andobal, two princes who had vigorously opposed the arms of Rome. These Scipio consigned to the care of a young Roman officer. The inborn delicacy of the matron and damsels revolted at such an ar-

* "Sive et ipse capti quâdam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque velut parte oraculi missa, sine cunctatione assequeretur."—*Liv.* Mas-deu calls him (Scipio) *insigne hypocrita*.

† Plutarch (in vita Scipionis) does not always agree with Polybius (lib. i. cap. 10.) and Livy (lib. xxvi.), either as to the character of Scipio or the events of the war. Of course, the authority of Polybius is to be preferred to that of Livy, and Livy's to that of Plutarch.

rangement. They waited on Scipio, threw themselves at his feet, and begged with tears that he would grant them a favor. He promised that they should have any thing their condition required. "No," replied the matron; "this is not what we wish. As we are prisoners, we have no right to expect more than the treatment of prisoners. Our honor is the only good now left to us, and we wish you to become its guardian. As to myself, my years are my protection; but these innocent maidens may be exposed to danger." The general could not but admire a delicacy so pure: he intrusted them to the care of an aged and honored officer.

The rest of Scipio's conduct at this period was equally worthy of approbation. To the citizens he restored their property and liberty; the hostages whom the Carthaginians had exacted from a vast number of tribes were honorably dismissed; to two thousand artificers whom he retained he also held out the prospect of manumission on easy conditions; and he was in every other respect as merciful, nay generous, towards the conquered as a victor could be. This conduct, as politic as it was unexpected, contributed far more to his future success than either his own commanding abilities or the valor of his legions.

The progress of Scipio was now rapid. He penetrated into Bætica, overthrew Asdrubal (who however succeeded ^{B. C.} in crossing the Pyrenees and reaching Italy;) and in another battle took Hanno, the brother and successor of Asdrubal, prisoner. In another campaign, he reduced several places in the same province, the last strong-hold of the Punic forces. In a third, he for ever broke the power of the enemy, by a decisive though dearly bought victory over the heroic Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo. Much, indeed, of his success on the last occasion was owing to the dexterity with which he could work on the superstition of his followers. He gravely informed them that he had seen Jupiter, who had assured him of victory; and they believed him.*

The Carthaginians were now driven to the last extremity. Some breathing-time was, indeed, allowed them by the short absence of Scipio in Africa, by his indisposition after his return, and by the insurrection of some native tribes, who found that a change of masters did not bring what had been hoped, — a change from slavery to comparative independence. But their fate was decided immediately after his recovery. Having severely chastised the natives who had dared to aspire after liberty, he proceeded to attack Cadiz, the first and last posses-

* Like our Cromwell, he seems to have been a strange compound of fanaticism and hypocrisy.

sion of the African republic in the Peninsula. Seeing that resistance would be useless, and pressed by the repeated letters of Annibal for new reinforcements, the senate at length gave orders that the city should be abandoned, and the troops conveyed to Italy. Thus ended the Punic dominion in Spain, after an eventful struggle of thirteen years with the armies of Rome.

Spain, henceforth regarded as a Roman province, was divided by the senate into Citerior and Ulterior, or Hither and Farther; the Ebro serving as a boundary between them.* Two governors, sometimes with the dangerous authority of proconsuls, but generally with the title of prætors, administered these vast divisions: the one had his seat at Tarragona, the other changed his according to circumstances. The duration of their authority depended on the pleasure of the senate: it varied from one year to six; but in the latter case it was annually renewed, with a change of title, if not a diminution of power. The consul of one year was the proconsul of the next; and so with respect to the prætor.

But if the victorious republic had now little to fear
 B. C. 205 from her rival, the fierce habits and indomitable spirit of
 to the natives found sufficient exercise for the courage and
 149. talents of the prætors. A few of these governors were
 men of humanity and justice, but the rest were tyrants,
 who trampled on the people, and imposed contributions too
 heavy to be borne. To enter into a narration of the events
 which followed the incessant insurrections of the tribes, especially of the Celtiberians and Lusitanians, the alternations of defeat and conquest experienced by the Romans, would only be a dry repetition of the common vicissitudes of war in every age and clime, and would be foreign to the objects of this compendium. It will be sufficient to observe, that during more than half a century, though the prætors displayed quite as much perfidy as valor, they were unable to reduce many of the warlike tribes to the state of slavery which they were alike instructed and inclined to impose. Some of them were ignominiously defeated; others, though more successful in arms, were yet constrained to grant peace on terms which the senate was sure to condemn, and which they themselves intended to observe no longer than they found expedient. When new reinforcements arrived, they fell, without warning, on some obnoxious tribe; but the advantage was but transient;

* This boundary was afterwards neglected by the amplification of the government of Citerior Spain, or Tarraconensis, until, in time, the two were nearly equal.

the tale of perfidy spread from forest to forest, and was echoed from mountain to mountain: it armed the high-spirited natives, whose combined bravery again forced them to sue for peace, which they again never failed to disregard. Their want of faith,—their cruelties,—their continued rapines, rendered the Roman name as detested as that of Carthage had ever been, and Spain would soon have thrown off the yoke, had the various tribes combined in sufficient numbers. But the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were as hostile to each other as they were to the common enemy; a spirit of jealousy and distrust, artfully fomented by the Roman generals, and often by Roman gold, kept them aloof from one another, until the obnoxious tribe was destroyed. It was only when the subjugation of all was threatened that combination was adopted, and that on so inconsiderable a scale, that though it was sufficient to resist, often to defeat, the enemy, it was unable to follow up the victory, and consequently, to derive any advantage from success.*

At length an event occurred of which the consequences were well-nigh proving fatal to the unprincipled ^{B. C.} sway of the republic in the Peninsula. The consul 150. Lucullus and the prætor Galba had penetrated into the heart of Lusitania, to extirpate, one by one, the warlike tribes of that country. Their enormous exactions and unheard-of cruelties were too glaring to be wholly passed over even by the historians of their own nation. While on this expedition the latter received a deputation from various people on the banks of the Tagus, who offered to submit to the Romans on the conditions formerly ratified by the two parties. He readily accepted their proposal, spoke to them with the utmost kindness, and expressed his anxiety to better their condition by removing them to more fertile seats, where they might enjoy undisturbed the fruits of their industry under the protection of Rome. "Come," said he, "in whatever numbers you please, and I will provide lands for you all; I will be your father!" Transported by this cheering prospect, and sick of the miseries of anarchy, 30,000 poor Spaniards resorted to his camp. He received them with joy, divided them into three bodies previous to their departure for the three portions of territory he had assigned them, encamped them in three open plains, and secured their arms, under the pretext that such weapons would be useless in the peaceful life on which they

* *Livy* (xxx. 40.), in his account of the obscure wars at this period, magnifies alike the successes of his own countrymen and the losses of the enemy. We have, however, *Florus*, *Appian*, *Strabo*, *Orosius*, &c. to correct his exaggerations.

were about to enter. Swift as lightning he fell on them thus separated and helpless; massacred above 9000, and made 20,000 prisoners, whom he sold for slaves throughout the provinces of Gaul!* A few, and but a few, escaped: among these was Viriatus, the most wonderful man in the ancient history of Spain.

This man was a shepherd, born on the sea-coast of modern Portugal. If accident made his birth mean, nature made him ample amends. To a vigorous frame, which constant exercise had rendered impassive to hunger, fatigue, and the elements, he united a mind of unrivalled power, a courage that excited the admiration of the boldest, and a spirit of independence which scorned submission to the haughty, rapacious, and treacherous prætors of Rome. Of that republic he was willing to be the ally, never the slave. His great qualities were soon understood by his countrymen. Feeling that he was called to a higher destiny than the tending of flocks and herds, he gradually collected round him such of the Lusitanians as like himself had learned to avenge his country's wrongs. For some time, perhaps for years, his exploits were confined to the despoiling the avaricious invaders of the plunder they had amassed. Whenever he discovered any detached body of Romans (and he had emissaries in every direction), not the whirlwind could move more swiftly to revenge, or the thunderbolt prove more destructive. The wealth which he thus acquired he is said to have utterly disregarded: a portion was distributed among his followers, the rest among the poor, to whom he was the most bountiful of benefactors. When the adversary was too powerful to be assailed with any prospect of success, he harassed the rear; and if pursued, fled to his inaccessible fastnesses in the mountains, to rush forth on a more favorable occasion.

Thus trained in the best schools for the great scenes that were about to open before him, his habits were distinguished by uncommon temperance, even by austerity. He never changed his raiment, nor indulged himself with the luxury of a bed: bread and meat were his only food, and water his only beverage. Over his passions he had acquired supreme control.

*The consul and prætor soon returned to Rome laden with the spoils of their infamy. A tribune of the people publicly accused the prætor; but gold was omnipotent with judges and witnesses. The consul was scarcely less guilty. By an act of detestable perfidy he gained possession of a town belonging to the Vaccæi, completely sacked it, and put thousands of the unsuspecting inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Spain was the theatre where broken fortunes were to be repaired, and ruined spendthrifts enriched, and where the thirst for blood might be gratified with impunity.

Self he is said to have sacrificed on the altar of patriotism, and to have smiled at the oblation. Of the contempt with which he beheld the luxuries and even conveniences of life, his marriage-feast afforded a good proof. On that occasion the guests were regaled with great splendor by the father of the bride, one of the richest men in the Peninsula. Not only were the tables loaded with plate of silver and gold filled with the choicest dainties, but the very floors were covered with costly carpets. At the hour of dinner, Viriatus with his lance in hand, without which he never appeared, entered the room. Casting an angry glance at the magnificence around him, he advanced to the table, and in a standing posture rapidly dispatched his bread and flesh, while the guests were abandoned to epicurean indulgence. He then received the hand of the maiden according to the rites of the country; but the moment the ceremony was concluded, he took her in his arms, mounted his horse, and galloped to the mountains, where his followers were encamped.

Animated by success and the increased number of his adherents, whom the perfidy of Galba roused to revenge, Viriatus, now the acknowledged chief of several tribes, poured from his dwelling in the clouds the storm of war on the plains of Lusitania. On the confines of the Turdetania, who inhabited the western part of Andalusia, perhaps also the Algarves of Portugal, his followers, while occupied in plunder, were surprised by the prætor Vitellius at the head of 10,000 Romans. Perceiving that defence would be of little avail, they were preparing to surrender, when Viriatus, with a thundering voice, called them round him; upbraided them for their want of subordination, still more for their panic fear; and made them swear implicit obedience to his commands. He formed them into line of battle, as if resolved to contest the field with Vitellius. Nothing, however, was farther from his thoughts; he would not yet oppose his raw levies to the probability of extermination by disciplined veterans. At this momentous crisis he had recourse to stratagem: the moment he mounted his horse as if to charge the enemy, the whole of his infantry, in compliance with his orders, suddenly fled through the precipitous mountain paths, leaving him with only 1000 horsemen opposed to Vitellius. This extraordinary manœuvre riveted the Romans to the spot; nor did they recover from their surprise before the fugitives were too distant to render pursuit availing. During more than twenty-four hours, he deluded them with a succession of masterly feints: if they advanced, he fell back, yet with his front towards them; if they halted, he also remained immovable, as if ready to receive them. The second

night, knowing that his troops must be far on their way to the appointed rendezvous, he and his horsemen galloped off with the speed of the wind, and joined them within the walls of Tribola.*

This stratagem was succeeded by another still more humiliating and disastrous to the Romans. While on the march towards Tribola, and just as they were passing through a wood, they were surprised by the unexpected appearance of the Lusitanian chief, accompanied by a handful of men. Feigning extreme fear, he fled, and artfully drew them into a marsh, which, from his acquaintance with the places that afforded a firm footing, he and his followers traversed with safety. While struggling in the mire, they were assailed by his whole force, which he had placed in ambush: nearly one half were destroyed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was the prætor himself; whom a fierce Lusitanian, despising his age and corpulency, ran through the body.

Viriatius was too sagacious not to pursue the advantage. He followed the fugitives into Carpetania, and reduced their already diminished numbers at every step. Not one would have escaped him, had not Nigidius, prætor of Hither Spain, hastened with Tarragona to avenge the death of his colleague. The new forces were joined by the fugitives, and their combined numbers presenting too formidable a front to the Lusitanian, he retreated. He was pursued into Portugal, where in a pitched battle his arms again triumphed over the Romans.

The next campaign was distinguished by successes a. c. still more signal. Two new prætors, Unimanus of 146. Hither and Plautius of Farther Spain, were successively routed nearly on the same spot, and not far from the banks of the Tagus, in the Portuguese province of Alentejo. The victor now carried his arms into Bætica. In his march he carefully refrained from injuring the crops,—a policy as humane as it was unexampled; but he exacted rigorous contributions from the towns which owned the authority of the republic. Most of the Iberian nations south of the Xucar felt the weight of his arms, or submitted to his demands. The strong town of Segobriga, now Segorbe, in Valencia, bade defiance to both. Where force failed him, stratagem was generally successful. Having placed his followers in ambush, at some distance from the town, he sent a chosen band to seize the flocks and herds which were feeding on the plain. Many of the inhabitants having issued forth to protect their property, were deluded

* Tribola was probably situated between Beja and Evora, in the province of Alentejo.

into the ambuscade, and destroyed. Still the place refused to surrender; but the crafty Lusitanian, who pretended to abandon the siege, and who had remained three days' journey from the walls, suddenly returned; and while the inhabitants were occupied in a religious festival, forced an entrance, and, after an obstinate struggle, inflicted a terrible vengeance on them.*

Rome now began to look seriously on a war which had deprived her already of nearly one half her possessions in the Peninsula. At the head of 17,000 men, the consul, Quintus Fabius Maximus, was dispatched thither; but he prudently forbore to encounter the formidable Viriatus, until a vigorous discipline of twelve months had inured his forces to fatigue, and restored them to self-confidence. His lieutenant sustained a defeat under the walls of Orsona (now Ossuna), but he soon gained a decisive victory over the Lusitanians. Other advantages were gained by the prætor Lælius, but not of a character sufficient to damp the exertions of the enemy. While Termes and Numantia defied the ablest generals and numerous hosts of Rome, Viriatus passed from tribe to tribe, reanimated the desponding, confirmed the wavering, and lost no opportunity of striking a blow for his country where there appeared the slightest probability of success. But the most powerful of his allies, the Celtiberians,—those on whom he placed the greatest dependence,—were too fickle to adhere with constancy to the common cause. So long, indeed, as his arms were victorious, they eagerly followed his standard; but when defeat came,—and, in spite of his talents and activity, it was frequently his lot,—they turned a favorable ear to the proposals of Rome. Some tribes, indeed, of that great nation adhered to him with as much fidelity as the most devoted of the Lusitanians; but the defection of the rest frequently compelled him to retire for a season to his mountain fastnesses. It was therefore no wonder that the consul Metellus, the successor of Fabius, should subdue several of the revolted tribes, and force Viriatus to retire into Lusitania. But the latter was never more formidable than in retreat. Having drawn the consul Servilianus into the heart of the country, he twice routed that general with great slaughter. The whole war was so disastrous to the Romans, notwithstanding the ability and valor of Metellus; the losses of the enemy were so soon repaired; that Pompeius Rufus, his successor, after an unsuccessful assault on Termes and Numantia, made peace with

* Livy, *Epit. lib. xl.—lii.* Florus, *Hist. Rom. lib. xi. c. 17.* Appian, *De Bello Hispanico*, lib. iii. Orosius, *lib. iv. v.* Cornelius Victor, *De Viris Illustribus*, *passim.* Appian is generally correct, as we might expect from a foreigner, and still more so the Christian Orosius.

Viriatus. He was, indeed, compelled to make it, or to witness the destruction of his army, which the Lusitanian had drawn into a very unfavorable position, and which lay at the mercy of the latter. The reasonableness of the conditions proves the moderation of Viriatus, no less than his desire for the tranquillity of his country.*

If, as Appian informs us,† this peace was ratified by the Roman senate, the perfidy of that body was as infamous as any which had disgraced their prætors. Cæpio, the successor of Pompeius in the government of Farther Spain, received secret orders to prosecute the war, yet as if on his own responsibility, and so as not to compromise the honor of the fathers. That general accordingly fell on the unsuspecting Viriatus, who had dismissed the greater portion of his troops, in the persuasion that hostilities would not recur. The Lusitanian hero, after deluding Cæpio in the same manner as he had deluded Vitellius, retreated into Castile to solicit aid from the Arevaci, and other tribes of Celtiberia. Anxious, however, to know the grounds of the perfidious aggression, he dispatched three of his officers to the camp of the Roman. The base soul of Cæpio eagerly seized the opportunity of seducing the fidelity of these men.‡ By flattery, and by the promise of a magnificent recompense, he prevailed on these avaricious barbarians to assassinate their chief. They returned to their camp, to execute their deed of darkness. Unfortunately, the execution was easy enough: though Viriatus slept little, and never put off his armor, he allowed his companions to have free access to his tent at any hour of the day or night. Of a privilege so imprudently granted, the traitors made use. They stole into his tent, found him asleep, and with their swords destroyed the last hope of Spain. The morning sun

* Viriatus himself was desirous of peace. "*Pacem a populo Romano maluit integer petere, quam victus.*"—*Aurelius Victor.*

† Tom. i. p. 498.

‡ This crime of Cæpio remained not unpunished. His last years were passed in misery. Cicero (*pro Balbo*) and Strabo (lib. iv. p. 138.) say that he was banished. Valerius Maximus tells us that he was strangled in prison, and his corpse ignominiously dragged to an infamous part of Rome. The avenging deity, according to Strabo, visited the sins of the father on the offspring. His children, we are told, were all daughters, whose lives and end were equally infamous. Eutropius is the only Latin historian who does not recognize the guilt of Cæpio. That general, he says, knew nothing of the crime; and when the assassins demanded a reward, he replied, "*Nunquam Romanis placuisse imperatorem a suis militibus interfici.*" (Lib. iv. cap. 16.) Equally wrong is Aurelius Victor, who says that the crime was not approved by the Roman senate. "*Quæ victoria, quia emptæ est, a senatu non probata.*" But did the senate show any ill-will to its general? The crime was useful, and therefore acceptable. The more honest Florus confesses, "*Hinc hosti gloriam dedit, ut videretur aliter vinci non potuisse.*" (Lib. ii. cap. 17.)

witnessed their flight, and the despair of the Lusitanians. It is some consolation to find that the murderers lost their reward. The treachery may be loved, but not the traitor. Cæpio received their intelligence with joy, but dismissed them with reproach and insult.

Thus fell a great captain and hero, who during more than eleven years bade defiance to the most formidable hosts, and foiled the ablest generals, of Rome. By some writers of that nation he has been treated with undue severity. They have designated him "rebel" and "robber," not considering that he owed Rome no allegiance, and that the predatory exploits of his early life were confined to the plunderers of his country. But even they have been obliged to confess his shining qualities; his heroism, his genius,—his faith in public, his temperance in domestic life; nor can they pass over in silence the magnanimity with which he abandoned to his followers the plunder of the enemy, his moderation in prosperous, or his fortitude in adverse times.*

No sooner were the funeral rites magnificently paid to the corpse of Viriatus, than a successor was appointed, whose first and last act was to make peace with the Romans. The army still retained its brute force, but the mind which could alone direct it had fled for ever. The Numantians, however, who had been the firmest supporters of Viriatus, were faithful to his memory after death: they rejected with scorn the insidious overtures of Pompeius, whom they compelled to flee with humiliation from the walls of their city.

Ancient Numantia was the capital of the Pelendones, a Celtiberian tribe inhabiting the north-eastern extremity of Old Castile, and extending into Aragon: their neighbors were the Arevaci and Vaccæi, also belonging to the great Celtiberian nation. It was situated on a hill, and defended by nature in every direction, except towards the south, which the hand of art had rendered equally strong. Its ruins are still to be seen in the vicinity of Soria.

From the fierce spirit of independence exhibited by this city during the wars of Viriatus, its destruction was now decreed by the Roman senate. Popilius, who was ordered to invest it, retired from its walls with no less disgrace than Pompeius. The consul Hostilius next advanced; but, instead of assaulting the heroic defenders, he fortified the camp which his predecessor had left him: the camp, not the city, was soon in

* In many respects Viriatus resembles the Wallace of Scotland; and in some the comparison will be found more favorable to Viriatus.

a state of siege. The Numantians frequently issued from their walls, and harassed him so much that he resolved to escape with his troops during the silence of the night. The panic flight, however, was discovered through an incident characteristic of that brave people. One of their maidens was sought by two youths, between whom, as their valor and condition were equal, the father was unable to decide. To end the dispute, he proposed that the rival who should first bring him the right hand of an enemy should have his daughter. Instantly both suitors issued from the gates, each resolved to engage in mortal struggle with some one of the Roman sentinels. Their surprise at finding neither sentinel nor soldier in the camp may easily be conceived. They returned sorrowfully to the city, where the flight of the enemy was thus made known. Without a moment's delay, 4000 of the inhabitants rushed forth in pursuit of the fugitives. They overtook the Romans, of whom they slew 20,000; but they had the generosity to leave both life and liberty to the rest, on condition that peace should in future subsist between them and the republic.

The senate refused to ratify the peace, and dispatched
 B. C. 137 other generals to prosecute the war. They subdued Lu-
 to sitania and Galicia; but they failed before Palencia, the
 134 chief town of the Vaccæi; and Numantia the boldest of
 them did not dare to attack. Indignant at this humilia-
 tion of her arms, and the cowardice of her generals, the re-
 public appointed Scipio Æmilianus to the command of the le-
 gions destined to contend with that dread of Rome.*

The first act of Æmilianus was to purge the Roman camp of the abuses which his predecessors had been unable or afraid to banish. He dismissed the public women, whose number amounted to 2000; banished a whole army of cooks and lackeys; sold the utensils of luxury; and reduced the soldiers from the most sensual indulgence in their meals, to a spare but wholesome diet. He also subjected them to constant

133. fatigue, and restored the ancient severity of discipline. Having thus regenerated the army, the consul closely invested Numantia, so as to prevent the introduction of either provisions or troops. His object was evidently to reduce the place by famine more than by arms. Sixty thousand against one tenth of that number were fearful odds against the besieged; yet they hesitated not to accept the combat. On one occasion, when forced, after performing prodigies of valor, to seek shelter within the walls, they were reproached by their

* "Terror imperii;" a title which the Numantians nobly deserved.

old men for fleeing before an enemy whom they had so often conquered. "The flock is the same," replied a brave warrior, "but there is a different shepherd."

To relate, in detail, the events of this famous siege would not interest the reader. While food, and consequently strength, was left to the inhabitants, they defied the fatigues and dangers of war. In their frequent sallies, they sought to exterminate the army; but the cautious *Æmilianus* had protected his troops by fortifications almost as strong as those of the city, and the furious assailants were obliged to return without inflicting much damage on them. In the mean time hunger was doing its fatal work. Not only were the vilest aliments eagerly sought after, but even the corpses of the dead were devoured. In vain did the inhabitants send deputations to the consul, to obtain an honorable peace; in vain did they urge their own generosity on five preceding occasions, when five armies of Rome lay at their mercy; in vain did they request a fair field, that they might at least die on the bed of honor: he coolly replied, that he would not risk the life of a single soldier; that he renounced the glory of victory, and was content to await the inevitable effects of famine. This reply filled the whole city with the wildest fury,—a fury rendered still more horrible by intoxication. In a paroxysm of desperation, the men issued out from one gate, the women from another, and bore down with terrific frenzy on the Roman intrenchments. But what impression could three or four thousand emaciated and exhausted creatures make on a formidable bulwark of 60,000, in the full vigor of their strength? Some fell; the rest were driven back within the walls of the city. With a refinement of cold-blooded cruelty, *Æmilianus* ordered the sword to cease its merciful office, sardonically observing, that the more the mouths, the sooner their few remaining provisions would be exhausted.* Still no one thought of unconditional surrender,—no one but preferred death to seeing his wife, his sister, or his daughter the victim of a fierce conqueror's lust, and to the prospect of everlasting slavery. With one voice, it was resolved that famine should deliver them from their miseries. But their impatience could not await the slow effects of such a death: some took poison; some fell on their swords; some set fire to their houses, and perished in the devouring flames. Others, considering this mode of exit unworthy of warriors, hastened to the great square; and, in presence of an applauding people, engaged two by two in mortal strife. The van-

* "Velocius eos absumpturos frumentum quod haberent, si plures fuissent."—*Liv. Epit. lib. lvii.*

quished was immediately beheaded, and his corpse thrown into a huge fire; the victor next contended with another, and inflicted the same fate. During these dreadful scenes, parents and children, relatives and friends, were either destroying each other, or with shouts of triumph rushing together into the midst of the furnace, which, like the Chaldean king of old, they had heated seven times hotter for the purpose. Thus perished all: not a living creature survived! Ruins, blood, solitude, and horror, were all that remained to greet the eyes of the victor; except the shells of houses, which, with the walls of the place, he rased to the ground.*

The fall of Saguntum was sufficiently awful; that of Numantia was truly terrific: it stands alone in the annals of the world, a monument of fearful sublimity, proving that, when excited to the highest pitch, man has powers not inferior to those of a demon. But what language can characterize the conduct of the Roman general? Surely he must have been an incarnation of the Evil Principle, who could thus look on such horrors,—horrors which a word would have ended. If there be retribution on earth,—and history, well understood, is but a picture of God's moral justice here below,—the end of such a man could scarcely be peace. And it was not peace.† Let his memory be held in everlasting execration.‡

B. C. The destruction of Numantia was the forerunner of
 132 the submission of three fourths of the Peninsula. It in-
 spired so much dread into all the native tribes, except
 to those who, from the position of their country, had little
 81. to fear from hostile aggression, that they dispatched
 deputies to the conqueror, either to acknowledge the dominion
 or to solicit the alliance of Rome. Thenceforth their strug-

* Livy, *Epitom. Histor. lib. lvii.* Paternulus, *lib. ii.* Florus, *Epit. lib. ii.* Eutropius, *Brev. Rom. lib. iv.* Plutarch, in *vita Scipionis.* Orosius, *lib. v.* cap. 7. We have greatly to regret the loss of the book written by Polybius, an eye-witness, concerning this war. Appian differs from other historians in one point: he says, that, when driven to extremity, the Numantians opened their gates, and besought Scipio to grant them a respite of ten days—to kill one another! and that the Roman general granted the strange request. Why want his permission? Why not every man kill himself?

† He was found dead in his bed, B. C. 133. From the concurrent testimony of ancient historians, there can be no doubt that his death was violent:—"Suspecta fuit tanquam ei venenum dedisset Sempronia uxor."—*Liv. Epit. lxi.* Orosius confirms the suspicion. Paternulus adds that his neck exhibited marks of violence. No inquiry was instituted into this dark deed, for reasons sufficiently obvious: one was, says Plutarch, lest something should be found to criminate Caius Gracchus. The whole family were probably concerned in it; their own tragical end will furnish an instructive lesson to the Christian historian.

‡ See the tragedy of "Numancia," by Cervantes; a composition which, though exceedingly unequal, and, like all his other works, abounding with images both magnificent and mean, will well repay the trouble of perusal.

gles for independence were neither frequent nor simultaneous. Partial insurrections, "few, and far between,"—the irruptions of the Cimbrians, whom the Celtiberians compelled to retreat across the Pyrenees,—were the only events that diversified the uniform picture of prætorian rapacity, and afforded abundant room for the exercise of their cruelty, until the civil wars of the republic again deluged the whole Peninsula with blood. To those civil wars, therefore, the reader is carried at once: nor will he have much reason to regret this bound over the obscure and uninteresting events of half a century. During the whole period, indeed, from the fall of Numantia to the usurpation of Sylla, Spain presents the same unvarying picture of dull uniformity.

In the list of proscriptions, consequent on the triumph of Sylla, was the name of Quintus Sertorius, who had ^{B. C.} previously served in Spain in the capacity of tribune of the people. "Sertorius," says Sallust, "was in the full vigor of life; possessed of all the bodily and mental qualifications necessary to form the soldier. A rare sobriety rendered him conspicuous among the Roman generals; to none of whom was he inferior in military talents. Fearless in danger, temperate in success, he was neither discouraged by reverses nor inflated by good fortune. In action he had an eagle's glance in seizing the decisive moment for striking a blow, and in perceiving what manœuvre would best delude the enemy." To this accurate picture must be added the darker shade of an ambition which no bounds could restrain, and which would have pressed forward to its gratification, had a bleeding world stood in its way.

This general was fortunate enough to escape the bloody sword of the dictator, to land in Hither Spain, and to win the favor of the Iberian tribes. The intolerable exactions of the local governors made them ready enough to embrace the cause of one who offered to redress their wrongs, and secure for them a more happy future. Nine thousand men flocked to his standard, and enabled him to contend on the soil of Spain with the forces of his vindictive enemy.

His first efforts were not successful. A great portion of his troops, through the treachery of his lieutenant, were routed by the general of Sylla, and he himself forced to seek safety on the deep. With the aid of some Cilician corsairs, he gained possession of Ivicea; but that place also he was constrained to abandon. While he was deliberating whether it would not be his wisest course to sail for the Fortunate Islands, and there pass in tranquillity the remainder of his life, his piratical allies abandoned him to succor the king of Mauritania, whose domin-

ions were then invaded. Offended at their desertion, he resolved to be avenged on them before entering on his philosophic career. He hastened to oppose the king, and insured success to the party he espoused. By this time the character of sage had no longer any allurements for him, and he eagerly listened to a deputation from the Lusitanians, who offered him the chief command of their forces, on the condition of his protecting them against the ravages of Sylla's partisans. Accompanied by near 3000 of his veterans, he landed in Lusitania, where his forces were immediately increased to 8000.

The tide of his fortunes had now changed. The B. C. 80. prætors of Sylla, Didius, and Domitius, were the first to feel the weight of his arm. His victory had a wonderful effect on the Lusitanian and Celtiberian tribes, who henceforth became his warmest supporters. They opened to him the gates of their towns, swelled the ranks of his army, and enabled him to triumph over the numerous forces which advanced to crush him. In a few short months he found his power so completely established that he succeeded in forming the two nations into one great state, solely dependent on him alone. He granted to the people a government exactly similar to that of Rome; he created 300 senators, Romans by birth, and to them he subjected the numerous magistrates who, under the title of prætors, quæstors, and tribunes of the people, presided over the administration of the laws in the provinces and towns. The army was equipped and exercised in the Roman manner: it was divided into legions and centuries; and subjected to prefects, military tribunes, and the inferior officers, like the armies of the republic. The higher commands were held chiefly by Romans; but the native troops were not only armed and disciplined, but admitted to the same privileges as the former. Evora, which he had made the capital of Lusitania, became his ordinary residence, and was beautified by the noblest works of art. Oeca, now Huesca, which was also constituted the metropolis of Celtiberia, he dignified with a university, where grammar and rhetoric were taught by Latin and Greek professors, and where great numbers resorted from all parts of the Peninsula. At the distribution of prizes to the successful students he was often present. He it was who conducted the examinations, and infused a spirit of emulation into the natives. Success in science was rewarded with citizenship, and consequently with a qualification for the highest civil posts. Nothing, in fact, which could civilize a brave people, and render them the auxiliaries of his great designs, was overlooked. New vigor was given to the operations of the mines; arsenals were open-

ed; arms manufactured; and the mechanic arts, especially those which related to war, taught to flourish.*

Yet this great man, who was thus hailed as the regenerator of Spain, and even as the founder of a new empire, appears to have had no serious intention of effecting its independence. He professed, indeed, that his heart was in his adopted country, that her greatness was his only aim; but all his actions tended to confirm the suspicion that his views were elevated to the dictatorship of the Roman world. He wished to humble not the republic, which he loved as much as selfish ambition could love any thing beyond its own gratification, but his personal enemies. He never forgot that he was an exile: with the exception of his countrymen, he regarded all around him as barbarians, whose intercourse he endured only with the design that it should serve as the ladder of his own greatness.†

One cause of the amazing ascendancy he thus acquired over the minds of the natives, may be traced to the impostures which he practised on their superstition. A Lusitanian hunter had presented him with a beautiful white doe, which became so tame that it followed his footsteps like a dog. This creature he made them believe was a gift from Diana, and the medium of communication between him and that goddess. When this animal appeared crowned with a garland of flowers, the people were persuaded that their general was about to obtain some signal advantage. To what despicable expedients will not ambition stoop!

The astonishing success of Sertorius awakened the jealousy no less than the fears of Sylla. The consul Metellus Pius put his legions in motion to crush the aspiring rebel; but victory smiled on his opponent, whose forces were rendered more formidable by the arrival of Perpenna, at the head of 16,000 Roman soldiers. The blood-thirsty dictator had ceased to exist; but his army remained, headed by Metellus. That general being evidently unable to contend single-handed with Sertorius, the famous Pompey was dispatched to his aid by the republic.

Henceforth the fortune of the war was various. For some time Sertorius triumphed over Metellus and Pompey; but in their turn they reduced several of his strongest places, and defeated his lieutenant Perpenna.

* Sallustius, *Fragmentum Historiæ*, lib. i. et ii. Florus, *Epitome*, lib. iii. cap. 22. Plutarch, in *vitis Sertorii et Pompeii*. Orosius *adversus Paganos Historiar.* lib. v. cap. 23.

† Plutarch is much too favorable to this Roman, as he is indeed to most of the characters whose lives he professes to write.

At length the two chiefs met near the banks of the Xucar. Both exhibited great valor; but victory, after an obstinate and bloody struggle, declared for Sertorius. This advantage, however, was useless: having effected a junction with Metellus, Pompey again made head against the victor, who sought refuge within his intrenchments. The disappearance by his own contrivance of his oracle the doe, enabled him to account for this reverse. Diana, he said, offended with his followers, had recalled the supernatural visitor; had commanded him to retire before Metellus; but had given him hopes of pardon and success if sacrifices were duly paid to her. To extricate his troops from the danger which surrounded them, he adopted the celebrated expedient of Viriatus; at a given signal they escaped by a hundred different paths. He rejoined them, offered the sacrifices required, and the following day, while occupied on the seat of judgment, the animal suddenly bounded into the hall, and testified its affection by reclining its head on his knees. All present, Romans and natives, shouted with joy on the restoration of the divine messenger. None showed so much pleasure as the artful contriver of the farce. Addressing the doe, he inquired what were the commands of the dread sylvan goddess, and proclaimed to the surrounding spectators their restoration to her favor, and the certainty of approaching victory. The prediction, however, could scarcely be said to be verified; for though he routed Pompey, his lieutenant Perpenna was defeated by Metellus with a loss nearly equal. On both sides, indeed, the fortune was nearly balanced: the victory of to-day was neutralized by the defeat of to-morrow. But the generals of the republic suffered the most, because their losses could not be repaired either so soon or so efficaciously as those of Sertorius, who wielded at pleasure the resources of Lusitania and Celtiberia, and who had for allies the warlike tribes of Cantabria and the Asturias.*

The war would still longer, perhaps, have been prosecuted with the same indecisive character, had not some peculiar circumstances hastened the catastrophe of Sertorius. The price set on his head by a decree of Metellus, and the success of Pompey against some of the towns which had declared for him, made some of his Roman soldiers stagger in their fidelity to him. Some deserted, the rest were suspected by him. His counsellors and friends were now natives alone. This distrust of one nation, and confidence in the other, gave rise to two factions which embittered his very life. The natives

* The same authorities as already and repeatedly quoted.

acquainted him with whatever seditious language they heard from the mouths of the Romans: the latter, anxious to open a breach between him and their rivals, committed many arbitrary acts, for which they alleged the authority of the general. Complaints were made by both parties; plots to take away his life were discovered or invented; he was kept in a state of continual excitement and alarm. In his own defence he punished the accused, without much regard to the evidence adduced of their guilt: in short, he suspected every one, and became cruel alike to Romans and Spaniards. A conspiracy was formed by Perpenna, who had long been jealous of his authority, and who resolved to secure it in his own hands. In conjunction with his partners in crime, he forged a letter, as if from one of the general's lieutenants, which contained the intelligence of a victory gained over the enemy. Sertorius read it with the more pleasure, as his affairs had not lately been so prosperous as formerly. In the agreeable excitation produced by the news, he accepted the invitation to a splendid supper, to celebrate the success of his arms. The conspirators received him with much apparent respect. The repast was conducted with the usual tranquillity; but at length feigning to be affected with the wine they had drunk, their language assumed an unusual tone of impropriety, and even of boldness. Conceiving that remonstrances would be lost on men bordering on intoxication, the general reclined on his seat to escape a discourse which he disapproved. Perpenna then raised a cup full of wine, and let it fall on the floor. This was the preconcerted signal. At the same moment one of the traitors aimed a blow at Sertorius, who attempted to rise; but his hands were forcibly held, while a dozen poniards found their way to his heart.*

"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," is a denunciation of which the truth is confirmed by all human experience. Perpenna succeeded to the command, but in the first battle he was defeated and made prisoner by Pompey. The wretch, in the hope of pardon, presented the victor with a number of letters which he had found among the papers of Sertorius, and which compromised some of the leading men in Rome. Despising him alike for his treachery and abject meanness, Pompey nobly destroyed the dangerous evidence, and ordered him to be put to death. The same fate befell all the accomplices of Perpenna, one only excepted, who dragged

* The same authorities as before, with the addition of Plutarch (in vita Luculli), and of Appian, Bell. Civ. lib. i.

on a life more miserable than death, and who groaned under the curse of God and man.

After his death, Sertorius was again the idol of Spain: his memory was embalmed in the hearts of the natives, who wept as they reflected on his great qualities,—his heroism, his generosity, his condescension, and his services on their behalf. Had not the sword of Pompey avenged his death, their hands would have been dyed in the blood of the conspirators. Many of them abandoned the cause; some submitted to Pompey; others took refuge in their mountains and forests. With Sertorius expired the last faint glimmer of national independence.

The towns which had obeyed the deceased chiefs now submitted to the Romans. Pompey prosecuted his successes from Andalusia to the Pyrenees: Pampeluna, in Navarre, rose at his command. After his departure, the prætors had to deal with only partial insurrections, which were occasioned by their own rapacity, and were repressed without difficulty, until the wars between Cæsar and Pompey shook the Peninsula from the centre to the extremities, and rendered it the theatre of horrors too painful to be contemplated.*

Cæsar first visited Spain as quæstor: nine years afterwards, he returned as prætor of Farther Spain. Galicia, and such parts of Lusitania as had hitherto preserved their liberty, were

55. the first to feel the weight of his arm, and to submit to the yoke. When the three lieutenants of Pompey, to whom, as triumvir, the government of Spain and Africa had been assigned, arrived, they found little to do until Cæsar returned a third time to snatch these rich provinces from their hands.

49. The plan of this great captain was to attack Spain at two points. While his lieutenant, Fabius, crossed and penetrated into Hither Spain, he landed at Ampurias, and marched on the Ebro. Before, however, he could effect a junction with Fabius, that officer had sustained a reverse near Lerida, from the united forces of Afranius and Petreius, two of Pompey's lieutenants. But that loss must have been heavy which the genius of Cæsar could not repair. His first object was to cut off the communication between his enemies and the city whence they derived their supplies. To effect this, he endeavored to gain possession of a hill which lay between their camp and the place; but the detachment which he sent for that purpose was driven back by the natives with some

* Chiefly the same authorities, with the addition of Paterculus, lib. ii., and of Dion Cassius, lib. xxxix.

loss. Another disadvantage befell him. His camp lay between two rivers, the Cinna and the Segra, which the melting of the snow on the neighboring mountains and continued rain had rendered too deep and rapid to be crossed with safety. Both his provisions and his reinforcements from Gaul were on the opposite bank, in danger of falling into the power of his enemies. In a short time, through the want of supplies, and the discouragement which began to seize his troops, his position was painful, and his destruction was declared to be inevitable. But the resources of his mighty mind were scarcely known even to himself: having constructed some little boats unknown to the enemy, who now guarded the banks, he passed a portion of his troops quietly over the Segra, in a part concealed from the opposite camp by high mountains. Immediately he occupied the summit of one, which he fortified, and was now enabled to construct a bridge, over which he brought his cavalry. Having with equal expedition and success brought his reinforcements to the same position, he now assumed the offensive, and defeated the Pompeians. The news of a victory gained by his fleet near Marseilles arrived at this favorable crisis, and drew over to his cause the Lacetani, Ausetani, the Ilercavones, the Cosetani, and some other tribes of Catalonia.

To re-establish his communication with the opposite bank of the Segra, and thereby to intercept on both sides all supplies coming to Lerida and the enemy's camp, he resolved to adopt an expedient which surprised as much as it dismayed them. That river being too deep and rapid to admit of a bridge from the place where he lay encamped, he was preparing to divert a portion into a reservoir, so that it might be forded. The two generals of Pompey, however, whose situation was already sufficiently critical, did not wait for the success of this unexpected scheme: they left Lerida, with the intention of crossing the Ebro, and making Celtiberia the future seat of war. They were soon overtaken by the indefatigable Cæsar, and blockaded among the mountains which lie between the Ebro and the Cinna. In vain did they attempt to break his lines and return to Lerida: they were soon in want of necessities, and were at length compelled to capitulate.*

Thus ended the first campaign of this able captain, who, without risking the safety of his troops, succeeded, by his masterly movements, in reducing the enemy to the last extremity.

* Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, lib. i. Livius, *Epitome Histor.* 110. Florus, lib. iv. cap. i. Dion Cassius, lib. xl. et xli. Suetonius et Plutarchus in vita Cæsaris. Orosius, *adversus Paganos Historiarum Libri Septem*, lib. vi. cap. 15.

His conduct on this memorable occasion has called forth the admiration of the best military authorities.*

Of the armies of Pompey, 25,000 men still remained under Varro, who commanded in Bætica. The victor marched against him, and compelled him to surrender also. Having thus caused his authority to be acknowledged throughout the Peninsula, he appointed his lieutenants, Cassius and Lepidus, over the two great provinces, and returned to Rome.

The rapacity no less than the tyranny of Cassius in-
 a. c. censured both natives and Romans to such a pitch that they
 48. openly revolted, and chose Marcellus prætor in his place. He had recourse to the king of Mauritania, and to Lepidus, who governed the Hither province: they hastened to his aid; but the latter, on becoming acquainted with his own conduct, espoused the contrary side. This man is another example of divine retribution. Embarking at Malaga with his immense

47. treasures, in the intention of revisiting Italy, both he and they were engulfed near the mouth of the Ebro.†

The fall of Pompey in Africa did not restore peace to the Roman world. The son of that famous man selected Spain as the fittest scene for opposing the dreaded dictator. Thither many of his father's partisans had fled from Africa; and there

46. the memory of that father was still cherished by many of the native tribes. An army sprung up on his arrival; Bætica declared for him, and the successor of Cassius was forced to escape. A fourth time did Cæsar hasten to the Peninsula to support his ambitious projects by the destruction of his antagonists.

45. After reducing several towns which had declared for young Pompey, Cæsar pitched his camp, within sight of the enemy, on the plains of Monda, about twenty-four miles from Malaga. At first the action which ensued was unfavorable to the dictator; his ranks, after an obstinate struggle, began to waver. His agitation was extreme: he alighted from his horse, raised his helmet, and rushing into the midst of his soldiers, exclaimed, "Soldiers, I am your Cæsar! Veterans! after so many victories, will you suffer yourselves to be conquered by a youth? do you thus abandon your chief? rather will I perish by my own hand than by the sword of Pompey!" He placed the point of his sword against his breast; but it was snatched from him, and a simultaneous cry arose, "Never will

* Guiscard, *Mémoires Historiques et Critiques*, etc., tom. i. et ii. Puysegur, *Art de la Guerre*, tom. ii. Cressé, *Commentaires de Cæsar, avec des Notes critiques, historiques et militaires*, tom. iii. et iv.

† The same authorities as before; also Hirtius *Pansa, De Bello Hispanico*, cap. 8.

we abandon our Cæsar!" Their courage was renewed; they rushed against the enemy; the victory was decisive. Pompey fled, after losing 30,000 of his followers. The remnant of this once formidable host threw themselves within the walls of Monda, which, after a bloody siege, acknowledged the conqueror. To complete the success of Cæsar, Pompey himself was overtaken and slain, after a vain effort to escape by sea from the port of Carteia.

The towns of Bætica, which were still held by the adherents of Pompey, were now reduced by Cæsar with ^{a. c.} great celerity. No sooner, however, had he left the ^{14.} country than Sextus Pompeius renewed the war in Lusitania, and afterwards carried it into Bætica. Again might the flames of war have spread over the country, had not the death of the dictator allayed the fury of the adverse party; and the policy of Lepidus and Augustus, to whom it successively ^{42.} belonged, succeeded in tranquillizing it. Some partial disturbances, indeed, broke out before the latter assumed "the sovereignty of the Roman world;" but they were quelled by the vigorous measures of his generals.*

Under the emperors, Spain had no history distinct from that of the empire itself, of which it became a peaceful province. Some domestic events, however, which have been comparatively neglected by the historian of the Roman world, may occupy a passing consideration.

No sooner was Octavius raised to the monarchy of ^{38.} the Roman world, than all Spain was declared for ever tributary to the emperors. This subjection of so many tribes to one supreme head; this consolidation of so many territories, of which some had been independent, others in alliance with Rome, was justly considered important enough to serve as the basis of a new system of chronology. Hence the *Spanish Era*, which began thirty-eight years before Christ, and from which the national writers computed until the fourteenth century, when it was superseded by the Christian.

One of the first acts of Augustus was to decree a new division of the country. The two provinces into which it had been previously divided, the Citerior and Ulterior, had been found by experience too extensive for their convenient administration by the local governors. Three were now adopted, Tarraconensis, which comprised Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Galicia, a portion of Leon, and Portugal,

* Livius, Epitom. Hist. 115. Florus, lib. iv. cap. 8. Patereulus, lib. ii. Appian, Bell. Civ. lib. ii. Hirtius, De Bello Hispanico. Dion Cassius, lib. 43. Orosius, lib. vi. cap. 16. Eutropius, Brev. Rerum Romanarum, lib. vi. To these add Suetonius and Plutarch, in vita Cæsaris

the Two Castiles, Murcia, Valencia, and the Balearic Isles; Bætica, which comprehended Granada and Andalusia, with a small portion of Estremadura, as far as the Guadiana; and Lusitania, which contained the remainder of Estremadura, the Algarves, and all the territories of Portugal and Leon as far as the Duero. The administration of Bætica, as being the most submissive of the provinces, the artful emperor abandoned to the senate, retaining to himself that of the other two, on the pretext that they required the strong arm of military authority to keep them down: he thus reserved in his own hands the sole disposal of the Roman armies in the Peninsula.

The importance of his possessions in Spain was a sufficient reason why he should visit them in person. On his arrival in Catalonia, he found his soldiers hotly engaged in the Cantabrian war. That fierce people, as well as the Asturians, had hitherto scorned submission to the Romans, and had frequently lent their assistance to the Vaccei in the contests between them and the invaders. To penetrate into the very heart of the Cantabrian mountains was the purpose of Augustus; but after a few unimportant operations, he found that no laurels were to be gained by him in such a war, and he left the prosecution of hostilities to his lieutenant Antistius. The efforts of the latter were more successful; he vanquished the inhabitants, pursued them into their mountain fastnesses, and compelled them to surrender, but not before he had sustained considerable loss. True to their character, many of the prisoners deliberately deprived themselves of life. Mothers destroyed their children, then one another, while the men rushed into the midst of the conquerors to seek a more glorious death. The Roman armies then marched triumphant over these wild regions, which thus owned a temporary allegiance to the emperor. The same success attended the armies of Carisius among the Asturians.*

But northern Spain was rather overcome than subdued. Some districts of Navarre and Biscay were never trod by Roman foot, and even those who had submitted to the lieutenant of Augustus, revolted as soon as their oppressors retired. Twice did the Asturians and Cantabrians rise against the Romans; and twice were they obliged to submit. Both parties, at length, seem to have become weary of the war: the natives, because they could not hope to subvert the power of their conquerors; and the Romans, because, though they could overrun the country, they could not retain possession of these mountain solitudes, nor consequently reduce the

* The same authorities as before.

inhabitants to the same slavish condition as in the more accessible parts. So long as the natives paid a nominal obedience to the Romans, and forbore from harassing their neighbors of the plains, they were left to the enjoyment of considerable freedom. Thus were the blessings of peace restored to the whole country, two hundred years after the invasion of the first Scipio.

However selfish the policy of Augustus, it was often beneficial to his subjects. If he held them in the condition of slaves, he was—not perhaps from principle so much as calculation—a clement and magnificent protector. To rescue Spain from the rapacity of the local governors,—the curse of all conquered countries,—he decreed that in future they should extort no contributions from any province on the conclusion of their administration. He permitted any province, indeed, to testify its gratitude to deserving governors, but not until sixty days after their departure. This law was an admirable one; it rendered them anxious to cultivate the favor of the people, and to make themselves worthy a reward which was thenceforth to be assigned, not to power nor by flattery, but by the unbiassed voice of the governed. He opened communications with the interior by the construction of roads which traversed every part of the country, and by the erection of bridges: he founded new colonies, exempted several towns from the payment of taxes, conferred on others the privilege of Romans, and advanced many of the natives to the highest dignities. Not unfrequently, too, did he exhibit qualities which we should have some difficulty in reconciling with the usual tenor of his actions, if experience did not prove that the hope of applause will sometimes make even the selfish generous, and the vindictive merciful. A remarkable instance of this occurred in one Baracota, a famous robber, who, at the head of a formidable band, had long ravaged the surrounding country with impunity, and either defeated the forces sent to apprehend him, or eluded their pursuit. But when Augustus set a price on his head, he had reason to tremble; the meanest of his followers might at any moment procure his destruction. He waited on the emperor, confessed his crimes, promised to forsake them, and ended with demanding not only his pardon, but the reward which had been offered for his apprehension. The fearless intrepidity of this bandit, and this confidence in imperial clemency, made a deep impression on Augustus, who readily granted him what he required. Conduct such as this, and benefits such as have been recorded, might well secure the attachment of a people who had long groaned under oppression, and who in all ages have been distinguished for a quick resentment of wrongs, and

a lively gratitude for favors. In the fullness no less than the blindness of their hearts, they erected altars to him during his life, and temples after his death.*

A. D. The reign of Tiberius was a scourge to Spain, as it was
14 to most other provinces of the empire. His own rapacity
37. was bad enough; that of his prætors and proconsuls was infinitely worse. To this was added a cruelty which never relented, and which accounted the lives of thousands as nothing when vengeance or avarice was to be gratified. In vain did the oppressed inhabitants appeal to his justice: the oppressors were his creatures, and from their conformity with him were sure of impunity. The senate was at length induced to banish one of these obnoxious tyrants; another was assassinated by an indignant native. These examples, with the fear of a general insurrection, had doubtless some effect on succeeding governors, but none on the arch-tyrant himself, who confiscated the property of the rich, doubled the taxes, deprived children of their inheritance, encouraged delators, and, on the shadow of a pretence, banished or executed all whose wealth he coveted, or whose patriotism he dreaded.†

37. Caligula was still worse. After exhausting the Roman treasury, by the most shameful excesses, he looked towards Spain for the means of replenishing his coffers, and actually set out for Rome chiefly with that view. His tragic end, however, saved the Peninsula from the infliction of his presence. Claudius and Nero succeeded to the vices of
41 their predecessors, and added considerably to the stock.
to The fatal severity with which the latter tyrant treated
70. the family of Seneca, is a blacker crime in the eyes of Spaniards, than all his other excesses put together. This country was not slow in finding an avenger. Galba, the governor of Tarragona, at the entreaty alike of the Gauls and Spaniards, raised the standard of revolt, was declared emperor by both Romans and natives, and his election was confirmed by the senate, on receiving the news of Nero's assassination. But treason is not often successful. His own assassination, after seven short months of empire, might be a warning to posterity, if indeed ambition were capable of profiting by any lesson. He was succeeded by two ephemeral rulers, between whose elevation and sepulchre time could scarcely obtain a place.‡

* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 90. Tacitus, *Annal.* tom. i. lib. i. c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. liii. c. 25.

† Suetonius, in *vita* Tiberii. Dion Cassius, lib. lviii. cap. 23. Tacitus, *Annal.* tom. ii. lib. 6.

‡ Tacitus, *Hist. lib.* ii. cap. 67, &c. Suetonius, in *vita* Galbæ. Dion Cassius, t. xi. lib. xiv. cap. 10, &c.

Vespasian, and after him Titus, successfully labored to repair the evils which anarchy, rebellion, and continual bloodshed had brought on the country. Under the former, Pliny the naturalist, under the latter, Celer; the one quæstor of Andalusia, the other proconsul of Tarragona; steadily forwarded the beneficent views of their masters. Domitian undid their noble work; his prætors and proconsuls, accommodating their manners to his own, left no place free from their monstrous rapacities. Of these tyrants, however, some met their punishment through the energetic remonstrances of the sufferers, and more still through the eloquent interference of Pliny, who, though no longer in Spain, continued to feel the most lively interest in its concerns. The life of Nerva was too short for the welfare of the province, no less than for that of humanity. His adopted son and successor Trajan, a Spaniard by birth, and the first stranger invested with the imperial diadem, was fortunately not less mindful of both. Well may Spain boast of having given to the world one of the greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. Under him peace and the arts flourished in the Peninsula. New roads were constructed by his orders, and the old ones repaired; the beautiful arch of Torre-den-Barca, in Catalonia; the stupendous bridge of Alcantara, in Estremadura; and the splendid colonnade of Zalamea de la Serena; perhaps also the beautiful circus at Italica (Old Seville), the tower of Corunna, the Monte Ferrada in Galicia, and the celebrated aqueducts at Tarragona and Segovia, attest his patriotic magnificence. His successor, Adrian, who was also his countryman, inherited, not indeed his talents or his elevated qualities, but certainly his attachment to the country which gave birth to both. Monuments indicative of their benefits and of the gratitude with which they were received, are still to be found in many provinces of the Peninsula. The same prosperity signalized the reigns of the great and good Antoninus Pius, and the Spaniard Marcus Aurelius, whose memory was long held in the same grateful affection. These four emperors, of whom three were Spaniards, and one a Gaul, may also claim the glory of having rendered the world happier during the eighty-two years of their administration than at any other period of history. With them ended the sway of reason and virtue, and consequently of social happiness.* The few good rulers who after-

* Dion Cassius, t. ii. lib. lxxviii &c. Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. viii. Spartianus *Adrianus Imperator*. Aurel. Victor *de Cæsaribus*, p. 129, &c. Gibbon (*History of the Decline and Fall*, b. i.), in calling the period above mentioned the happiest ever possessed by the human race, is

wards appeared on the great theatre of the world were unable to stem the torrent of universal degeneracy; they were but transient lights, which rendered the gloom around more visible.

Of more than thirty emperors who grasped the sceptre from the accession of Commodus to that of Honorius, few had any immediate connexion with Spain; nor was the country distinguished by much that would interest a modern reader, if we except the introduction and progress of Christianity, which will soon be noticed. As the imperial authority weakened, the tyranny of the local governors increased; the sinews of administration being relaxed, and the laws disregarded by corrupt magistrates and a licentious soldiery, there was little security either for persons or property. While the rapacity of the powerful penetrated into the abodes of the defenceless, and while the legions were occupied in repressing the partial insurrections which oppression had created, organized bands of robbers actively despoiled alike the industrious husbandman and the traveller. To these evils was added, under the reign of Galienus, the terrific scourge of foreign invasion. An irruption of the Suevi, the Franks, and other barbarians from the north of Europe, passed the Pyrenees, about the year 260, and laid several flourishing towns in ashes. During twelve years the destroying flood was poured over the opulent and defenceless country; when by the valor of Posthumus, the rival of Galienus, who held Gaul and Spain under his sovereign sway, it was diverted against the shores of Mauritania. Traces of its blind fury were discernible in the time of Orosius, who wrote in the fifth century. One hundred and fifty years of peace, however, were amply sufficient to repair the mischiefs it had done, but not to give internal tranquillity. The Christian religion undoubtedly produced its natural effect in Spain as it did everywhere else:—it softened the ferocity of a fierce people; but then its progress was gradual, and it had to encounter every species of opposition before its truth was recognized, and its authority established. Constantine the Great is said to have owed his conversion to a Spaniard.

From the reign of Constantine to that of Honorius there is still less in the history of Spain to distinguish it from that of the empire.

doubtless right. Aurelius Victor, p. 134, appears to have furnished him with the idea which Masdeu, tom. vii. p. 193, no common writer, confirms: "Estos quatro emperadores estrangeros formaron, sin duda alguna, el siglo mas feliz del Imperio Romano." The number of medals, inscriptions, &c. in honor of the three Spanish emperors, is very great. See the elaborate *Collecion de Lapidas y Medallas qui sirven para mayor ilustracion de la España Romana*, by the last named author, tom. v. or vi.

CHAP. II.

THE POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF SPAIN
UNDER THE ROMANS.

It has been already observed that Augustus divided Spain into three provinces, Bætica, Lusitania, and Tarragona. Fifty-four years after his death, Otho added to Bætica, or rather incorporated with it, the African province of Tingitania. This division subsisted until the reign of Constantine the Great, who introduced important changes into the empire. He not only separated Tingitania from Bætica, but dissevered from the Tarraconensian province the governments of Carthagera and Galicia: hence he formed six provinces, Tarragona, Carthagera, Galicia, Lusitania, Bætica, and Tingitania. Theodosius the Great added a seventh, the Balearic Isles.

The ancient governors of the two provinces of Hither and Farther Spain had the supreme control over both civil and military affairs, and were termed consuls or prætors. As these dignities were by their institution annual, they who remained more than one year were called proconsuls or proprætors. On the accession of Augustus, the governors of Lusitania and Tarragona assumed the title of Imperial Legates, (*Legati Augustales*), while the Bætican was still styled proconsul. Each of these great dignitaries had two or three deputies or vice-legates, who resided in the great towns of each government. Such was the general system until the time of Constantine the Great. That emperor divided the Roman world into four vast dioceses, each governed by a prætorian prefect. Spain was subject to the prefecture of Gaul, and was governed by a vicar (*vicarius*), on whom the local governors were dependent. Appeals were carried from the tribunals of these governors to that of the vicar, and from his to the court, for such it might be termed, of the prefect. The governors of Lusitania, Bætica, and, subsequently, of Galicia, were invariably styled consuls, while those of either province were termed presidents (*præsides*). Besides the vicar, whose administration was chiefly confined to civil affairs, there was the count (*comes*), whose functions were of a military nature; but sometimes both the civil and military departments fell to the vicar.*

* The whole number of governors in Roman Spain, from the first invasion by Scipio to that of the Goths, was 335. Of these, ten were governors of all Spain; 112 when divided into two provinces; 154 when divided into three, and fifty-nine after its division into five. Among them were fifty-seven consuls and proconsuls, eighty-seven prætors, and proprætors, thirty-four legates, and vice-legates, six prefects and pro-prefects, nineteen præ-

It must not, however, be supposed that the authority of these officers extended at first over all the cities of the Peninsula. Some cities were governed even in the last resort by their own laws; some depended immediately on the metropolis of the Roman world; some were free, and left to their ancient laws and tribunals. They were colonial, municipal, Roman, allied, tributary; and others there were which enjoyed the right of *Latium*. Thus the province of Tarragona contained seventy-nine cities, of which twelve were colonial, thirteen Roman, eighteen enjoying the Latin law, one ally, and one hundred and thirty-five tributary.* *Bætica* had one hundred and seventy-five cities; viz. nine colonial, eighteen municipal, twenty-nine of the Latin law, six free, three allied, one hundred and twenty tributary. *Lusitania* had forty-five, five colonial, one municipal, three Latin, thirty-six tributary.†

The colonies were peopled by the citizens of Rome, chiefly by soldiers. The inhabitants of these establishments forfeited not the slightest of their privileges by their location in the provinces; they were governed by the same laws as the parent city, and were considered, like the non-resident freemen of our boroughs, as essentially belonging to it; their exemptions from the jurisdiction of the local governors and judges was not the least of the advantages they possessed. In the formation of a colony, some degree of ceremony was used. After a few deputies had chosen the fittest place for the destined habitation,—and, like the monks of later times, they seldom erred in their choice,—the colonists approached their destined abode, while a priest traced the circuit of the colony with a plow, drawn by an ox and a cow; hence, the representation of this action in ancient coins is the symbol of colonization. On the approach of the new settlers, the former inhabitants were arbitrarily driven from the place. The municipal cities were those which were admitted to the honor of Roman citizenship; which were in like manner exempted from the jurisdiction of the provincial governors; and the inhabitants of which could aspire to the highest dignities even in the “eternal city.” Whether from their public services, or from the favor of the emperors, twenty-two municipia were

dents and vice-presidents, nineteen prætorian prefects, thirteen vicars; the rest were quaestors, procurators, and other imperial ministers whose functions were wholly civil.

* Exclusive of the Balearic Isles, which, prior to Theodosius, depended on the *Terraconensian* province.

† Cenni, *Dissertationes de Antiquitate Ecclesie Hispanæ*, tom. i. passim. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, lib. iii. iv. Masdeu, *España Romana*, tom. ix. Depping, *Histoire Générale*, 11–33. The last-named author makes sad blunders in his references.

successively established in Spain; and though their privileges were not fully equal to those enjoyed by the *coloni*, their prosperity was so great, that in the reign of Adrian, it was doubted whether the societies which had issued from, or those which had been received into, the bosom of Rome, were in a more enviable condition.* The right of *Latium* was less valuable; in the cities possessing it, the magistrates only were recognized as Roman citizens. The free cities (*immunes*) were such as the conquerors left in the undisturbed possession of their native laws and tribunals, and were not taxed towards the support of the rest of the empire. This privilege was conferred with reluctance, or rather extorted by necessity, and was always regarded with jealousy: to six Spanish cities only was it granted. The allied cities (*confederatæ*) were still fewer in number, and were at first really independent, as the word implies. The tributary cities (*stipendiariæ*) as their name imports, occupied the lowest grade in the scale of civic society, and were those which chiefly supported the cumbrous frame of Roman government.

But the distinctions between these various classes were not long maintained. By Otho many Spaniards were admitted to the rights of citizenship; by Vespasian, such of the cities as had not the privilege already were presented with the right of *Latium*; and by Antoninus, every remaining barrier was removed; all his subjects throughout his vast empire being declared citizens of Rome; from this moment the civil constitution of that empire was of necessity uniform.†

The cities which obeyed the constitution of Rome were governed in a manner similar to those of Italy. Each had its municipal council or *curia*, the members of which, (*decuriones*), were chosen from the principal inhabitants of the provinces. Their office, however, appears to have been unenviable, because it was in all probability gratuitous, and because they were responsible for the due payment of the customs. Some severity was required to make men of consideration undertake its numerous duties, from which the favor of the emperor only could exempt them. The *decemviri*, whose authority was usually annual, were the chief magistrates of these cities, and their charge invested them with the highest respect. In some places the *curia* was presided by four magistrates (qua-

* Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xvi. cap. 13.) as quoted by Gibbon (*History of the Decline and Fall*, i. 44.). The emperor Adrian expressed his surprise that the cities of Utica, Gades, and Italica, which already enjoyed the rights of municipia, should aspire to the title of colonies.

† The same authorities, with the exception of Cenni, and the addition of Florez, *Medallas*, cap. ii.

tuorviri). The *ædiles* in the provinces, as at Rome, were intrusted with the promotion of internal peace, with the care of the public edifices and entertainments, and with the still more important one of provisioning the cities: the more splendid and frequent those entertainments, the more popular the *ædile*. The *curatores* were intrusted with the distribution of the corn contained in the public granaries. Each city had a judicial tribunal of ten judges (*decemviri*); and on three other magistrates (*triumviri capitales*) devolved the execution of capital sentences and the care of the prisons. Among the inferior offices of the law, the ancient inscriptions of Spain acquaint us with the *accensi*, or private secretaries; the *cornicularii*, or transcribers; the *questionarius*, who, doubtless, interrogated the witnesses; the *tabularius*, who appears to have corresponded with our parochial assessor; and the *beneficiarii*, whose functions are but imperfectly known.*

As the legislation of Spain will be examined at length in a subsequent part of this work, nothing in the present place need be said on its laws, especially as they are the same as those which governed Rome under the republic and the empire, and which are consequently too well known to require even a passing notice.

The financial system of the Romans was both complicated and ruinous, at least under the emperors. Besides the ordinary contributions and taxes, such as the capitations, tributes, the tax on successions, &c., Spain had to furnish the capital with one twentieth of her annual produce in corn, and at a rate, too, which was long fixed by the Roman magistrates themselves. The tax on successions, which amounted to one twentieth, or five per cent., was imposed by Augustus, yet not without considerable opposition on the part of the senate, the members of which were the persons most liable to suffer by the novelty. It was modified by Trajan, so as to fall with less severity on such as had property to bequeath or to inherit; it was doubled by Caracalla, who afterwards placed it on its ancient footing of one twentieth, until it ultimately disappeared from the public revenue.† To collect this and other contributions, a whole army of public officers was required; but their respective names and duties must be sought for in the elaborate works expressly devoted to such subjects. It is here sufficient to repeat, that Spain suffered as much from the necessities of the emperors and the rapacities of the resident *prætors* as any province throughout the wide extent of the em-

* See the various inscriptions collected, and ingeniously made to throw light on the national history, by Masdeu, *España Romana*, tom. v. vi.

† No mention of this tax is to be found in the Justinian code.

pire. While the latter connived at the extortions of the farmers of the public taxes, these farmers were not slow to gratify the avarice or prodigality of the prætors.*

The military state of Spain under the Romans is a subject little understood. That a considerable number of troops for foreign wars was furnished by this important province is attested by numerous inscriptions; but, except in cases of difficulty and danger, the Roman troops in the Peninsula seldom exceeded three legions; a force so inconsiderable that either the natives must have lost all desire to recover their ancient independence, or they must have become completely reconciled to the domination of their proud masters. The policy, indeed, which admitted them not only to the honor of citizenship, but to the highest dignities, civil, military, and even religious, must have been admirably adapted to insure, not merely the obedience but the attachment of the conquered.

So long as the empire continued prosperous, Spain, notwithstanding the evils it was made to endure, could not but participate to a certain extent in the general prosperity. The arts of life, the most elegant no less than the useful, were taught to flourish: that architecture had reached a high degree of perfection, is evident from the numerous remains of antiquity which time has spared; that agriculture was cultivated with equal success, is no less apparent from the testimony of that most excellent of judges the naturalist Pliny. The riches of the soil, in corn, in oil, and in fruits, were almost inexhaustible; and the sheep were held even in higher estimation in those days than in the present. The vine was cultivated with so much success, that the juice of the grape produced in the environs of Tarragona was pronounced equal to the best wines of Italy. These productions, with those of the mines, and the demand for native manufactures, gave rise to an extensive commerce; more extensive, indeed, than that which had existed under the Carthaginians. There was this important difference between the two conquering nations: while the African, with the characteristic selfishness of a trader, engrossed every advantage to himself, the noble-minded Roman admitted others to a free participation in those advantages.†

The prosperity produced by the produce and manufactures of the country allowed the more inquisitive natives to study the sciences which adorn, no less than the arts which support,

* Dion Cassius, lib. lv. Masdeu, tom. v. vi. Depping, tom. ii. liv. 4.

† Pliny, Strabo, Dion Cassius, and the inscriptions procured in the fifth and sixth volumes of Masdeu.

life: besides roads, statues, baths, theatres, aqueducts, and bridges,—all monuments of native civilization.*—Spain can boast of sons who might have contended for the prize of knowledge, or even of eloquence, with the most celebrated Romans: their names are known to every classical reader; they form a noble and copious list, superior to that which was furnished by any other province of the Roman world.

But the most important subject of the present chapter is that of religion,—not paganism, which, as its state in Spain is in no respect different from that of Italy, need not be described here; but—Christianity, the introduction, progress, and condition of which must be regarded with attention by every one who believes that Christ established a church on earth. No apology, will, therefore, be expected for entering into this subject more at length than may appear consistent with the brevity hitherto so scrupulously observed in all that regards Roman Spain. It is almost the only subject in which the condition of this province differs from that of the dominant state, and consequently the only one on which an historian of that province can be expected to dilate.

If tradition as an authority had not long ceased to be recognized on this side of the Pyrenees, the historian would have little difficulty in fixing the period of the introduction of the Christian faith into Spain. During eighteen centuries its uninterrupted voice has named St. James the Elder as the first herald of the Gospel to the idolatrous people of that country. That the apostle traversed the Peninsula, from Lusitania and Galicia to the heart of Aragon; that while at Saragoza he was honored by a visit from the Virgin, and that by her express command he erected on the spot a church in her honor; that after his martyrdom at Jerusalem his body was brought by his disciples from Syria to Iria Flavia (now El Padron), in Galicia, and thence transferred to Compostella, to be venerated by the faithful as long as the world shall endure,† no orthodox Spaniard ever doubted.‡ With equal assurance of faith, and certainly with greater appearance of reason, it is believed that St. Paul, in person, continued the work of his martyred fellow-disciple;§ and sowed the seeds of the new doctrine in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and, above all, in Andalusia.

* The ruins of these noble works are to be found in the relations of travellers, and above all in the interminable collection of Spanish antiquities.

† "Nadie no osara negar que el cuerpo del glorioso apostol esta en la ciudad de su nombre, traydo alli, y hallado despues con tan grandes milagros."—*Morales*.

‡ See Appendix A.

§ The testimonies of St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Epipha-

But whether these apostles or their successors propagated the Gospel in the Peninsula, certain it is that Spain can adduce her martyrs as early as the second century,—perhaps even in the first. That St. Eugenius, whom native ecclesiastical writers honor as the first bishop of Toledo, suffered in the second general persecution under Domitian;* or St. Manlius of Evora, under Trajan; or the saints Facundus and Primitivus, in Galicia, under Marcus Aurelius, with a host of others, whose deeds and constancy are so minutely recorded by the Bollandists, cannot reasonably be doubted, though the authority from which our information respecting them is derived is in some points far from unexceptionable. But there is authority for other martyrdoms which few will be inclined to dispute,—that of the early fathers of the church, and, above all, that of the native poet Prudentius, fully establishing the antiquity of the persecutions sustained by the Christians of Spain. A few of these holy witnesses of the truth, who lived at a subsequent period, and respecting whose actions there is the most confirmation, may not improperly be noticed here.

Of these the ancient church of God can produce none more distinguished than Fructuosus,—none whose example was more calculated to edify the true, or to confound the false believer.† Under the reign of the contemptible Galienus, this prelate presided over the church of Tarragona. Æmilianus, the president of Hither Spain, had just published an edict, in which the Christians were commanded, under pain of death, to sacrifice to the gods: its denunciations had no effect on the bishop, who, with his deacons and a select number of his flock, continued to worship the true God. One day, as he was reclining in an inner apartment, he was roused by a loud knocking at his door. He arose, and found some messengers from the tyrant, who commanded both him and his deacons to appear before the judgment-seat of the præfect. “I obey,” he meekly replied; “wait only until I dress.” Accompanied by Augurius and Eulogius, he was dragged before Æmilianus, and with them sent to the public prison, to be loaded with fetters until the day of his martyrdom arrived. On the way he

nus, St. John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and St. Jerome, must be allowed to have some weight. Though they only followed the tradition of their times, yet the stream was near its source, and, consequently, less corrupted than at a remote distance. See Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii.

* See Appendix B.

† Ruinart, *Acta Primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta*. Amst. 1713. This is a very different work from that vast storehouse of miraculous legends, “*Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*,” of the Bollandists. Some additional particulars are taken from Morales, *Cronica General de España*, tom. ii. fol. 325., who follows the Spanish breviaries.

exhibited all the magnanimity of a hero, and all the spirit of a faith which teaches a renunciation of self: he felt that he should be supported in the awful trial before him, and all his anxieties centered in his two companions. "Persevere with me," said he; "show yourselves firm in the faith, as becomes the ministers of Christ. Let not death frighten you; for it will bring you your assured recompense: imprisonment and bonds are the doors through which the children of God must, in these times, approach their Father." With similar exhortations he continued to fortify them within the walls of the dungeon, and not them only, but all whom affection for their pastor brought to see him. In a few days, the three were again hurried before Æmilianus. "Art thou acquainted," said the præfect to the bishop, "with the decree of the emperor?" "What is that?" "That you must adore the gods." "I adore one God only," replied the saint; "he who has created heaven and earth." "Art thou then ignorant," demanded the other in a sterner tone, "that there are many gods?" "I am!" "What! not adore the gods! not revere the statues of the emperors? who, then, will be either feared or honored hereafter?" Addressing Augurius, the judge asked, "Dost thou also share the errors of Fructuosus?" "Like him," replied the deacon with modesty, "I adore one almighty God!" Irritated at the astonishing composure of these two witnesses of the truth, the præfect now turned to the third, and, in a hasty tone, demanded: "Dost thou, too, adore this Fructuosus?" Eulogius replied with equal self-possession: "It is not Fructuosus whom I worship, but him to whom Fructuosus addresses his prayers." Still more indignant, and with more embarrassment, the judge was silent for a moment: he then abruptly turned to Fructuosus, and said, "Art thou a bishop?" "I am!" was the emphatic reply of one who knew that an affirmative answer to this question alone sealed his doom. The interrogatory was here closed, and all three sentenced to the flames. Not one exhibited the slightest change of countenance: when conducted to the scene of their last sufferings, theirs were the only hearts unmoved at the terrific preparations before them. Many pagans had assembled to take a final leave of the man whose manners had been more than blameless, and in whose fate they expressed an honorable sympathy. For this mark of respect he offered his thanks; but his cares wholly rested on the flock he was leaving behind. A Christian stooped to unloose his sandals: he mildly prevented the well-meant service, saying, "No! I can do it myself: no hands are so suitable as my own to give freedom to feet which are about to enter the joyful regions of martyr-

dom!" Others, who were dissolved in tears, he gently rebuked for their weakness. When seated on the fatal pile, he cried in a loud voice to the surrounding Christians: "My brethren! fear not that you will ever want pastors: the love and grace of God will never abandon you, either in this life or in the life to come! Weep not: this torment will not last an hour!" The flames now enveloped the three victims: the bonds which held their hands were first consumed; these they raised to heaven, and kneeling down, as if before the altar, their last act was a fit consummation of their useful lives.

The most sceptical of modern philosophers could not withhold his tribute of admiration at principles which, were they as false as they are true, can thus raise human nature above itself, which enable it to sustain unmoved the most cruel of torments, and to pass, not merely without anxiety, but with joyful confidence, the awful bounds that separate time from eternity.*

It was during the reign of the fierce Diocletian that the fires of persecution blazed with the greatest fury throughout the Peninsula. Besides Eugenius, who suffered at a former period, Toledo can boast of its martyred virgin Leocadia; Alcalá de Henares, of the youths Justus and Pastor; Avila, of the holy relatives Vincent, Sabina, and Christeta; Calatrava, of the soldiers Eureterius and Celedonius; Burgos, of the virgins Centola and Helena; Leon, of Mancellus, his wife Nonia, with all their children; Astorga, of the virgin Martha; Orense, of Marina and Euphemia; Braga, of Victor, Silvester, Cuenphates and Susanna; Lisbon, of the kindred saints Verissimus, Maximus, and Julia; Evora, of Columba; Merida, of the two heroic women Eulalia and Julia, with a great number of male sufferers; Cordova, of as many; Seville, of the sisters Justa and Rufina; Cadiz, Malaga, Gerona, Barcelona, and Lerida, of each a host.† Superior to them all in the number of its martyrs was Saragossa, which Prudentius, with peculiar propriety, calls "*patria sanctorum martyrum*," since there was no persecution of the time which did not fall with additional weight on that devoted place. Weary of sacrificing them one

* "Chrétiens ou infidèles, apprenez par l'exemple de Saint Fructuose en quoi consiste la vraie grandeur d'âme, et jusqu'à quel point la religion est capable de porter la résignation et la constance: et vous, admirateurs aveugles de l'antiquité payenne, dites nous si l'histoire a de plus grands caractères à nous offrir! ou si Socrate, avec son démon familier, mérite d'être mis au-dessus du saint évêque qui n'avait jamais prêché qu'une doctrine pure et sublime! Lisez l'histoire de l'église pendant les quatre premiers siècles, et vous y trouverez mille Socrates!"—*Depping, Hist. Gén. de l'Esp.* tom. ii. p. 123. This is not very original, but it is eloquent and just. †

† Masdeu, *España Romana*, tom. viii. p. 217. Morales, *Cron. Gen.* tom. ii. fol. 331—381. Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii. p. 183, &c.

by one, the president Publius Dacianus, the most bloody minister of the two bloody emperors Diocletian and Maximian, adopted an expedient by which he could destroy at one blow the whole Christian population. He published an edict, promising a free pardon and an unmolested journey to all who should leave the city on a certain day in search of another abode. At the time appointed, a great multitude of men, women, and children issued from the walls, in the full persuasion that their voluntary exile would procure them at least the blessing of future tranquillity. The treacherous governor, however, falling suddenly upon them with the troops which he had laid in ambush, massacred every individual, and afterwards consumed their bodies by fire.*

Of this "noble army of martyrs," none seems more deserving of particular remembrance than St. Vincent. This Christian hero was a native of Saragossa, and the son of a distinguished magistrate. His learning and eloquence early introduced him to the notice of his diocesan Valerius, whose deacon he became; and as that prelate was afflicted with an impediment in speaking, on him devolved the duty of addressing the congregation from the episcopal seat. His popularity reached the ears of Dacian, who summoned both bishop and deacon before him, and who committed both, heavily fettered, to the dark dungeons of Valencia. Having passed some time in this horrible abode, with food scarcely sufficient to sustain life, both were again brought before the tyrant, who, on observing their cheerful countenances, which exhibited no marks of suffering, angrily demanded of the guards whether they had not disobeyed his commands. On hearing that his orders had been punctually performed, he artfully endeavored to seduce by an affected moderation those on whom severity had produced no visible effect. He exhorted them to comply with the decrees of the world's great masters, who insisted that the dignity of the ancient worship should be restored, and the Gods everywhere honored by sacrifices. Valerius attempted to reply, but seeing his embarrassed utterance, his young friend said: "Father, dost thou permit me to answer this judge?" The other replied, "My son, I have long trusted thee with the office of speaking, and I leave thee now to justify the faith for which we are standing here." In a discourse of surprising energy and eloquence, the deacon then vindicated the unity of God, and the divinity of Christ, and contrasted the sublimity of the doctrines he professed with

* Prudentius, in *Hymno Martyrum Cæs. Aug.*, contained in the edition of his *Carmina* by Arevalus, Rome, 1788. Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii. vii. viii. &c.

the puerile absurdities of paganism. He concluded by asserting that entreaties no less than menaces would be unable to make them guilty of idolatry. The intrepidity of the advocate filled Dacian with fury. "Let this bishop," he exclaimed, "be removed hence; as he has disobeyed the imperial edict, he is justly exiled: but for this fellow, who to disobedience adds insult, a heavier punishment is reserved. Apply the torture; dislocate his limbs, and let him feel a rebel's punishment." The order was promptly obeyed, and Dacian had both the gratification to witness, and the barbarity to deride, the agonies of the sufferer. The latter, whose cheek blanched not, and whose lips uttered not one word of complaint, regarding his persecutor with that calm composure which proved that his heaven was already begun, merely replied,—“I have always wished for an opportunity of showing my attachment to the religion of Christ; thou hast given it me, and I am content!” Mad with rage, the governor struck the executioners because they could not force a single groan from their victim. “What!” exclaimed the sufferer, with the most provoking coolness, “dost thou too wish to avenge me of these brutal men?” Dacian now foamed at the mouth, and roared, rather than spoke, to them,—“Cannot you extort one cry of pain from this man, ye who have so often bent the most stubborn malefactors? Is he thus to triumph over us?” Sharper instruments were now brought, the flesh of the Christian was torn from his bones, and his whole body presented the appearance of one vast wound. For a moment even the savage Dacian was, or appeared to be, softened. “Young Christian,” said he, “hast thou no pity for thyself? in the flower of thine age canst thou not be persuaded to avoid a horrible death by one act of submission?”—“Thy feigned sympathy,” replied the other, with the same unshaken tranquillity, “affects me as little as the exquisite-torments thou causest me to feel. I will not deny my Maker for thy idols of wood and stone. Thy perseverance will fail sooner than my constancy.”

The victim was next laid on an iron bed, the surface of which was covered with sharp projecting points, and a slow fire placed under it. His body was pressed against the spikes, boiling liquids were poured into his wounds; his bones were crushed by blows with iron bars: in short, every species of torture was employed that hellish cunning could devise. Still the heroic sufferer murmured not. At length, his mangled limbs having been dashed on a bed of sharp flints, he felt that the moment of his deliverance was at hand. In vain did the tyrant order him to be laid on a comfortable couch, and every effort made to restore him, that, on his recovery, human inge-

nulty might be taxed for the invention of new torments: in a few hours he expired. His corpse was carried out to sea, and plunged into the waves: it was soon washed on shore, was found by some Christians, and secretly buried. The report of his superhuman constancy was rapidly spread throughout Christendom; and in the time of St. Augustine his festival was celebrated in every Christian place.*

It is impossible to peruse the preceding and other similar tragedies without being struck with the spirit of bravado which characterizes too many of the victims; a spirit we should vainly attempt to reconcile with either Christian charity or Christian humility. But did it ever exist? Is it not the invention of a later age? Both reason and charity must answer in the affirmative. The legend which makes St. Lawrence, while broiling on a gridiron, gravely desire his persecutor to turn him, that his other side might be roasted too, is not more ridiculous than it is false. Thus suffered not St. Stephen—thus suffered not a greater than Stephen.

It must not, however, be concealed, that the crown of martyrdom was sometimes pursued with an eagerness which evidenced rather the intemperance of a mistaken zeal, than the soberness of a rational principle. Whilst Dacian was heating the fires of persecution throughout the Tarraconensian province, two Christian parents removed, with their daughter Eulalia, the object of their fondest hopes, from Barcelona into the country, to escape the unrelenting cruelty of that monster. But the maiden, though only in her fourteenth year, was far from approving a step which her untutored imagination represented as a cowardly desertion of a post that Providence had assigned her family. Hearing that Dacian had entered Barcelona to hold his bloody tribunal, she escaped by night from her father's house, and reached the city the morning following, just as he had taken his seat in the hall of judgment. She boldly upbraided him for his cruelties; accused him of all the evils Christianity had sustained; and exposed his impiety, his perfidy, and his barbarity, in terms which filled him with amazement, and rendered him speechless for a time. Soon, however, he

* Ruinart, *Acta Primorum Martyrum*, tom. ii. Morales, *Cronica General*, ii. 341. Sanctus Augustinus, *Sermones*, in *Opera*, ii. 274, &c. Flores, *España Sagrada*, tom. viii. p. 179, and Appendix I. Prudentius, *Hymnus v. Passio S. Vincentii Martyris*. The second of these writers collects with such industry every absurd legend furnished by tradition, by the national breviaries, and by the monkish legends of the Bollandists, that his relations sometimes cause more amusement than edification. The appearance of angels to St. Vincent while in prison, the crow so miraculously sent to protect his corpse on the sea-shore, its previous wondrous passage through the waves though a heavy stone hung round its neck, &c., may well excite a smile at human credulity.

gave orders for her arrest ; put her to the torture, and finally to a painful death ; her constancy remaining unshaken, and her last voice praising God that she was judged worthy of so triumphant an end.*

The fury of persecution cooled after the death of Diocletian. During the civil wars which ravaged the empire under Maximian and Constantius Chlorus, the Christians began to breathe : Constantine followed ; and, after his conversion, the church had peace from without ; but within, the partisans of Athanasius and Arius clouded the horizon of her tranquillity.

The antiquity of the Spanish church being sufficiently established by her early martyrs, a few pages shall now be devoted to the consideration of her discipline ; a subject not without interest to any church, or even to any Christian, especially when connected, as it often is, with doctrine. Fortunately, it is one on which the acts of the early councils afford us considerable information.

Of the three national councils held during the first four centuries, the first is that of Illiberis or Eliberis, a town once seated near modern Granada. It may also be termed the most interesting, as it was probably held before the conversion of Constantine, and, therefore, some years anterior to that of Nice : if so, it is the most ancient council, not merely of Spain, but of the Christian world, the acts of which have descended to us. It consisted of nineteen bishops and thirty-six presbyters, with a still greater number of deacons. Its eighty-one canons treat of baptism, confirmation, the Lord's supper, penance both sacramental and ceremonial, matrimony, holy orders, virginity, clerical continence, fasting, the divine office, and other matters both of doctrine and discipline.†

That of Cæsar-Augustus (Saragossa,) which was also 380. national, consisted of only twelve bishops (the number of presbyters or deacons does not appear,) and was convened for the sole purpose of condemning the heresy of Priscillian. Its canons are eight.

The third, which was the first council of Toledo, was at- 400. tended by nineteen bishops, with a corresponding number of inferior ecclesiastics. Its first act was to admit the canons of Nice, especially those which relate to the ordination of priests ; but it is chiefly remarkable for its symbol of faith, in which that great Catholic doctrine, the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son*, is expressly asserted ; a doctrine, as is well known, not formerly received by the universal

* Morales, Cron. Gen. ii. fol. 335. Florez, España Sagrada, tom. iii., &c.

† See the canons in this and the two following councils, in the collection of Louisa, folio, Madrid, 1593.

church before the fourth Lateran council in 1215. Its twenty canons relate to holy orders, to the chastity of virgins devoted to God, and to the continency of ecclesiastics and their widows.

From these councils it does not appear that the Spanish church had yet received the dignity of primates, archbishops, or metropolitans. The bishops seem to have been equal in power, and independent of one another;* the only superiority admitted arising from priority of consecration: neither is there any reason for concluding that appeals were of necessity carried to Rome, though the superior veneration attached to that see; and the superior characters of those who filled it, rendered such appeals by no means uncommon.† The bishops and the clergy were elected by the people. Baptism was administered by the bishop or the presbyter, or, in their absence, by the deacon. In cases of urgent necessity, it could also be administered by a layman, provided he had not contracted a second marriage. Catechumens, previous to their receiving this sacrament, passed two years separated from the faithful, in acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the doctrine they were to believe, and the duties they were to practise. In cases of serious illness, the period was shortened; in those of voluntary sin, it was protracted. The converted gentile who relapsed, and the female catechumen found guilty of incontinence, were punished, the former with three, the latter with five additional years of probation.‡

Confirmation immediately followed the baptism of catechumens, and was performed by the bishop. It consisted in imposition of hands, and anointing with oil: the chrism was also used in baptism.§

Sacramental penance followed the commission of heavy sins after baptism, and was called reconciliation, because the sinner was thereby reconciled with God. Ceremonial penance

* This original equality of the bishops has been unsuccessfully assailed by Morales, *Cron. tom. ii. lib. x.*; by Florez, *España Sagrada, tom. iii. trat. 1.*; by Cenni, *de Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Hispanice, dissertatio i.*; and by other ultras. They should have been satisfied with the hierarchy really existing from the apostolic times.

† Still sorer on this subject are Baronius and other advocates of papal supremacy. To disapprove this supremacy, recourse has been had to St. Cyprian (*Epistola ad Cornelium, et Epistolæ Clerum et Plebes in Hispania*), who reprobates in strong terms an appeal from the authority of the African bishops to pope Cornelius. Yet the subject is not without its difficulties; for though this prelate defends the independent authority of the diocesans within their respective jurisdictions, he calls the chair of St. Peter the chief church, and the origin of sacerdotal unity.

‡ The acts of the three councils may also be found in *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ, cum notis, &c.*, by Catalani and Aguirre. Rome, 1753.; a more critical and extensive work than that of Loaisa.

§ *Concilium Iliberitanum, can. 38, &c. Concilium Toletanum, i. can. 2, &c.*

was a public satisfaction given to the church where the crime was more than usually scandalous: the penitent, in this case, occupied a place separated from the rest during a period proportioned to the heinousness of the offence. A penance of one year was inflicted on the player of dice, because the heathen deities were necessarily invoked in this ancient game; of two years on the subdeacon who married a third time, and on the ecclesiastic who wore a crown in imitation of the pagan priests; of three years on him who lent his apparel for the use of pagan processions, on the deacon who confessed a mortal sin before ordination, and on the parents who broke the betrothals of their children; of five years on him who married his daughter-in-law or sister-in-law; on the widow who sinned, and married her accomplice; on backbiters, in however trivial an affair; on husbands or wives guilty of adultery;* on single women guilty with different men; on deacons proved guilty of any capital crime previous to ordination; and on housewives who by stripes occasioned, involuntarily, the death of their slaves (if voluntarily, the penance was seven years); of ten years on the apostate or heretic on returning to the faith; on the Christian whom curiosity led to the heathen sacrifices; on all prostitutes, and on all consecrated virgins who broke their vow; of the whole life on the widow of a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, who re-married; on those who frequently violated their conjugal fidelity; and on the gentile priests who, after conversion and baptism, sacrificed to idols. Besides these regulations, the bishop had power to suspend from all intercourse with the faithful the man who sat at the table of a Jew, him who distributed satirical or libellous compositions, and him whose scandals deserved public censure.†

Communion was twofold: the sacramental or eucharistic; and the ecclesiastical, which consisted in the congregation of the faithful in the same church. Some penitents were admitted into a church during the prayers and sacrifices, but were not permitted to join in the Lord's Supper until the canonical term of their punishment expired. Generally, this sacrament was administered daily in the churches, but the faithful could anciently communicate also at home; they took the consecrated bread in their naked hand, or wrapt it in a clean piece of fine linen, and kept it at home until it was wanted. This imprudent custom led to abuses, and was prohibited, first

* But if the husband sinned with a pagan or Jewish woman, his punishment appears to have been perpetual excommunication:—"Siquis fidelis, habens uxorem, cum Judæa vel gentili fuerit mœchatus, a communione arceatur."—*Conc. Illib.* can. 78.

† *Conc. Illib.* can. 3 et 4. 22. 40, &c. *Conc. Tol.* i. can. 4. 10, &c.

by the council of Saragossa, and, twenty years afterwards, by that of Toledo.*

Hence excommunication was twofold also: the less, which banished the offender from the Lord's Supper; the greater, which prohibited him not only from this sacrament, but from all ecclesiastical intercourse with the faithful; that is, from assembling with them in the house of God. None but a bishop could excommunicate, none but he could absolve. Ecclesiastical delinquents seem on some occasions to have been visited with even more severity, to have been forbidden all intercourse even with their nearest relatives. Excommunication was long the only punishment which the hierarchy could inflict on its obnoxious members: it had no prisons, no jailers, no torturers; nothing of the formidable array with which disobedience or heresy was visited at a later period.†

To certain offenders,—so strict was the ancient discipline,—the eucharist was denied even at the point of death: for these no repentance, no duration of penance, was thought sufficient to cleanse them from impurity, and to make them worthy of partaking in this holiest of privileges. Sodomites, bawds, deliberate murderers, delators in capital cases, the false accuser of a clergyman, the idolater after baptism, the father who gave his daughter to a pagan priest, the adulteress protected in her crime by her husband, the married woman who destroyed her illegitimate offspring, the widow who after sinning with one man married another, the clergyman who lived with an adulterous wife, the adulterer who returned to the same crime after penance, the minister of the altar who lived in open concubinage or was ever detected in fornication, the step-father who married his step-daughter, and the wife who forsook her husband without leave to marry another,‡ fell, when dying, under this most rigorous of prohibitions. But if this sacrament was denied them, absolution was not; and the penitent did not therefore depart without hope of reconciliation with Heaven.

There was one means by which all but the offenders just mentioned could obtain their restoration to the privileges of communion, even before the expiration of the time of penance decreed by the canons. This was, by soliciting peace from the confessors; that is, from such as had sustained persecutions and torments for the faith of Christ. The confessor gave his

* Conc. Ces. Aug. can. 5. Conc. Tol. i, can. 13, &c.

† Conc. Illib. can. 28, &c. Conc. Ces. Aug. can. 5. Conc. Tol. i. can. 11, &c.

‡ But if that husband were guilty of adultery, he could receive the sacrament at the point or in danger of death. Canon 9. of the Conc. Illib.

peace to the penitent in an instrument which he called *litteræ confessoria* or *pacificæ*. This the penitent presented to the bishop, who immediately absolved him; and, in token of his readmission to the rights of communion, gave him another instrument, *litteræ communicatoria*, which secured him access to the sacramental table in whatever church he appeared.* This superstitious custom was founded on the opinion that, from the abundance of their merits, the confessors could well afford a portion to such penitents as had none of their own. What a fruitful train of abuses indulgences occasioned at a much subsequent period, and how repugnant they appeared to the common sense and common justice of mankind, is well known.

On the matrimony and continency of the Spanish clergy, there has been much acrimonious disputation: one party contending that strict celibacy was obligatory on them from the apostolic times; the other, that marriage was permitted to them, under certain restrictions, no less than to laymen. That some of them had wives, is admitted by both; but these, say the former, were women whom they had married previous to ordination, and from whom, on that occasion, they were compelled to separate, or at least to relinquish all claim to the *debitum conjugale*. In support of this opinion, they quote the thirty-third canon of the council of Illiberis:—"All bishops, presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, placed in the ministry, are commanded wholly to abstain from their wives, and not to beget children: whoever disobeys this order shall be degraded from his clerical rank."† This language is certainly strong enough to justify the advocates for the antiquity of clerical continence; yet many, and among the rest the judicious Masdeu, contend that the clergy were not here enjoined perpetual chastity, but were only suspended from the use of matrimony during the time they were occupied in administering the sacraments. There is no ground for so arbitrary a construction; when were they exempted from constant attendance at the altar? The truth seems to be, that while the priests,—those who administered the sacrifices, whether bishops, presbyters, deacons, or subdeacons,—were thus rigorously debarred the enjoyment of the privilege, it was reluctantly granted to the minor orders,—to readers, acolites, exorcists, and ostiaries;

* Conc. Illib. can. 25. Mendoza, de Concilio Illiberitano confirmando, lib. ii. cap. 52.

† "Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus ac subdiaconibus, vel omnibus clericis positus in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, hac non procreare filios: quod quicunque fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur." This is strange Latin!

and that these latter, on their elevation to the higher grades of the ministry, engaged to refrain ever afterwards from their wives, or submit to the canonical penalty in case of violating that engagement.

One of the most singular characteristics of the early councils of Spain is the permission granted to bishops and other ecclesiastics to follow any honorable branch of commerce, but in their own districts. Such a permission was doubtless justifiable at a time when tithes were not known, when the church was supported by voluntary contributions, and consequently when it was in danger of starvation. The contributions which are not obligatory will not be of long continuance, nor proportioned to the exigency of the occasion. The church was degraded for some centuries: it was raised to independence by the institution of tithes.*

Attendance on public worship was compulsory, both on priests and laymen. The council of Illiberis imposed a penance on the Christian who, during three successive Sundays, neglected to enter the church; and that of Toledo fulminated a suspension on any clergyman who did not daily assist at the divine office. Not a day in Lent was allowed to pass without prayer and penitence. Generally the congregation assembled in the churches; sometimes in the cemeteries, where they passed the night in prayer, particularly on the vigils of the saints. The promiscuous meeting of men and women, however, in such solitary places (they were outside the walls of the towns), and at such hours, led to abuses: the women were enjoined at length not to attend.†

Fasts were observed every Wednesday and Friday, in addition to the whole season of Lent, and on such other occasions as the bishop directed. July and August, however, were excepted, on account of the heats of those months, and the need of support by the enfeebled body. On fast days, not only was flesh forbidden, but every living thing, and even wine and milk, and, indeed, whatever was savory and delicate.‡

Feasts were celebrated every Sunday in the year, also at the Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost. The relics of

* It may be objected, that the contributions of dissenters are sufficient to the maintenance of their preachers. He must know little of dissent who does not also know, that in many cases such contributions are not raised without difficulty,—without the sacrifice of independence on the part of the preacher. If the rent of pews, and other sources of income, were not obligatory with any denomination of seceders, that denomination could not exist a year. Human nature is too selfish to be left to its own liberality: if religion must be supported—and where it is not, society will not long hold together—there must be authority to compel its support.

† Conc. Illib. can. 31, 34, 35, &c. Conc. Cæs. Aug. can. 3.

‡ Conc. Illib. can. 23, &c. Conc. Cæs. Aug. can. 2.

martyrs and saints were often interred beneath the altar, and were held in reverence; but superstition had yet devised no solemnity in their honor. Canonization was originally the right of the bishop, no less than of the national and provincial councils. The names of approved martyrs were written in a book, and read by the deacon during mass. Similarly honored were the founders and benefactors of churches, and those who offered costly gifts on the altar: hence the commemoration of the living and the dead throughout the Roman Catholic world.*

Persons consecrated to God were acknowledged and protected by the early church; but monasteries were not introduced into Spain during the first four centuries. The women who took, in the hands of the bishop and before the altar, the vows of virginity; and the men who, in the same manner, subjected themselves to the obligations of continence and religious contemplation, passed their lives sometimes in their own houses, but generally, in communities of two or three, in the abodes of aged ecclesiastics. The former assumed the veil from their first profession, as a public sign of their calling. But lest war should be sworn before the strength of the enemy was known, the council of Saragossa decreed that no woman should utter the irrevocable vow, or assume the veil, before the age of forty years, though previous to that period chastity was strongly recommended, and its observance consecrated.† The widows of ecclesiastics were not allowed to form a second marriage, as we have seen in the catalogue of penances; but they were not, like the virgins, bound to continence by vows. The widow who remarried incurred the minor excommunication,—she was debarred from all the sacraments except penance: the consecrated virgin who married incurred the greater, and was not admitted into the bosom of the church until her husband died, or she separated from him.‡

Some of the preceding provisions, especially of the first council, will appear unreasonably severe. We must, however, take into consideration the prevalence of idolatry at the beginning of the fourth century, and the anxiety of the fathers of Illiberis to preserve their flocks from the contact, and consequently from the probable infection, of paganism. The canons

* Conc. Illib. can. 43. et 60.

† "Item lectum est, non velandas esse virgines que se Deo voverint, nisi quadraginta annorum probata etate, quam sacerdos comprobaverit. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: placet."—*Conc. Cesar-Aug.* can. 8. The council in which such a decree was made deserves the respect of the Christian world. The third council of Carthage (can. 4) fixed the age of twenty-five.

‡ Conc. Illib. can. 13. 27, &c. Conc. Cesar-Aug. can. 6 et 8. Conc. Tol. i. can. 6. 9. &c.

which regard the remarriage of the widows of ecclesiastics are sufficiently absurd. The sixty-seventh, which prohibited Christian women from keeping long-haired slaves, requires explanation. These slaves were males, generally of Gaul or Germany, and their ostensible business was to dress the hair of the rich ladies; their real one—such was the depravation of manners produced by paganism—was to gratify the licentious desires of their mistresses. This evil, however, was not very extensive in its operation; and the gradual decline of heathenism, no less than the increasing influence of Christianity, purified the female mind. Of the remaining canons, the most that can be said in their praise, is, that they were well intended, and were equally well adapted for the ends in view: they contain the rude elements of an ecclesiastical code, and are drawn up in a language still ruder. But, with all their defects, they are exceedingly interesting; not only as the earliest existing monuments of ecclesiastical discipline, but as having been kept in view by the fathers of the famous Nicene council.

Like the other Christian provinces of the empire, Spain had its heresies. Omitting that of Arius,—on which we shall have to dwell in the reign of the Gothic kings; which, during the reign of Constantine and his sons, so much distracted the Christian world; and against which Osius, the bishop of Cordova, signalized himself with a zeal only inferior to that of Athanasius himself,—the most remarkable was the heresy of the Priscillianists. One Mark, an Egyptian heretic, having sown the seeds of gnosticism in Gaul, passed into Spain, where he propagated the same and other errors; and where the fluency of his speech, no less than the nature of his doctrine, procured him some disciples, among whom Priscillian was the most eminent. This Spaniard was rich, eloquent, subtle, enterprising, and consequently well adapted both to extend and to multiply the errors of Mark, of which he soon became the acknowledged head. He taught that marriage was an unnatural and tyrannical restraint; that pleasure was one of the great privileges of our nature; that to live according to the impulses of nature was the part no less of virtue than of wisdom. He held the Manichean doctrine of the two great principles; and, with Sabellius, confounded the persons of the Trinity. To all this, he joined the Chaldean superstition of starry influences, and the metaphysical subtleties of the Egyptians and Greeks. A multitude of women soon embraced the sensual system of this arch-heretic; their example constrained the other sex; even the clergy were at length infected by the

pleasing errors; and, to crown all, two bishops of Bætica openly professed themselves the followers of Priscillian*.

The orthodox party beheld with alarm the progress of this detestable heresy. As before observed, a council was convened at Saragossa, where the new doctrines were solemnly condemned, and the apostate prelates deemed unworthy their high station in the church. This censure, however, had no effect: Priscillian had the address to procure his election to the bishopric of Avila in Galicia, and his consecration by the hands of his episcopal supporters. The orthodox party was now in an excited state; two of its prelates applied to the emperor Gratian for the suppression of this daring sect: an imperial decree accordingly appeared, deposing the two obnoxious bishops, and banishing the other partisans from the Peninsula. To arrest the impending bolt, Priscillian hastened to Rome, in the hope that his eloquence would bring over the emperor to his opinions: with a great number of proselytes he made his appearance at the imperial court, and succeeded, after some difficulty, in obtaining a repeal of the decree. He returned in triumph to his diocese, where he disseminated his fatal errors with greater success than before; while his disciples in other parts of the Peninsula were but too well imitating his example. But when Gratian yielded to the ascendancy of the usurper Maximus, the representations of the orthodox bishop Idatius caused the new emperor to convene a council at Bordeaux for the condemnation of the heresy. Priscillian appeared with his supporters; but, seeing that the council was adverse to him, he appealed to Maximus, in the expectation that his sophistry would prove no less successful than on the preceding occasion. But this time the vindictive fury of his enemies prevailed, even more than the justice of their cause: notwithstanding the virtuous interposition of St. Martin of Tours, who endeavored to incline the emperor to milder measures, Priscillian and his partisans were beheaded.†

So long as Maximus lived, the numerous adherents of Priscillian were pursued with unrelenting severity by Idatius; but soon after the death of that emperor, this turbulent prelate, whose cruelties had long revolted his episcopal brethren, was banished, and the heat of persecution began to abate. Yet Priscillianism was not extirpated: not-

* Sulpitii Severi Historia Sacra, lib. ii. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv. 359.).

† Ibid. Idatius, Episcopus Limicensis, Chronicon, et Fasti Consulares, vol. ii. in the collection of Sandoval, and Florez, España Sagrada, tom. iv. App. 4. See also Tillamont, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique, &c. tom. viii. p. 498.

400. withstanding its renewed condemnation by the first council of Toledo, it continued to distract the church of Spain long after the accession of the Gothic dynasty.

Though the effects produced by Christianity on the moral condition of the Spaniards were in the highest degree beneficial, yet they were not universal; paganism had shot its roots too deeply and too widely into the soil, to be plucked up with facility. Many of the converts were but nominally so: if, for the sake of the advantages attending the profession of the new faith, after it had become the religion of the state, they outwardly conformed to it, either their hearts yearned after the superstitions of old, or their lax morality proved that they were still infected with the vices of idolatry. By degrees, too, the fervor of those who embraced Christianity from conviction cooled, and the former severity of their manners gave way to licentiousness. The bloody combats of the circus, and the obscene representations of the theatre,—representations which, according to a contemporary writer, could not be witnessed without pollution,*—were not the only nor the chief signs of a rapidly increasing demoralization; the rich neglected their wives for their handsome servants and others; not, indeed, to the extent assigned by the same morose writer,† but certainly to one fearfully indicative of the prevailing corruption. The priesthood, no less than the laity, were infected by it: “clergymen,” says Salvian, “who have wives, and even those living in concubinage, are raised to the dignities of the church, to the great scandal of the faithful.” It was to meet these disorders that severe canons were passed by the early councils, of which mention has been made.

But, fortunately for the honor of the true faith, the depravity of the times infected few but the rich. Nor were the respectable portion of the women less exempt. The number of those who forsook the commerce of the world, and voluntarily assumed the obligation of perpetual chastity, was, it is said, prodigious,—almost equal to that of the married women.‡

One of the noblest effects of Christianity was the diminution of slavery. Under the pagan Romans many vexatious formal-

* “*Talia enim sunt quæ illic fiunt, ut non solum dicere, sed etiam recordare, aliquis sine pollutione non possit.*”—*Salvianus, De Vera Religione et Providentia Dei*, lib. vi. This old priest of Marseilles particularly alludes to the voluptuous movements of the Betician female dancers, especially those of Cadiz, whose lascivious dances had long formed the chief amusement of the people.

† “*Apud Aquitanos; quis potentum non in luto libidinis vixit? qui conjugii fidem reddidit? Sed forsitan hoc in Aquitaniciis tantum? Transseamus ad alias mundi partes, quid Hispanios? Nonne vel eadem vel majora vitia perdidit?*” Lib. vi. p. 65. This is mere declamation.

‡ Cod. Can. Justin. can. 39.

res were required before manumission could be given to a slave. Constantine allowed the act to be in all cases legal and binding, provided it took place in the church, in presence of the priests and congregation. Subsequently Jews and heretics were forbidden to have Christian slaves; and if the slaves of the latter were pagan also, they became free by embracing the religion of the Gospel. A third regulation conferred the right of Roman citizenship on all thus publicly manumitted, and also legalized the mere intention of a master to free his slave, provided that intention were expressed in presence of witnesses.

BOOK II.

THE PENINSULA UNDER THE GOTHS.

CHAP. I.

HISTORY OF THE GOTHS, ETC.

409—711.

FROM the accession of Honorius, the Roman empire 395
 existed only by sufferance. The fierce hordes of northern Europe now prepared to inundate the fertile provinces to
 of the south, and the more powerful local governors to 402.
 secure themselves an independent sovereignty. Spain was soon agitated by the spirit which spontaneously burst forth from Britain to Thrace. While Constantine, who had assumed the purple, raised England and the Gauls against the feeble successor of the Cæsars, his son Constans passed the Pyrenees to gain over the natives of the Peninsula. The youth found or made adherents, and was for a time successful; but in the sequel he was compelled to return to Gaul for reinforcements. The appearance of another candidate for empire (Jovinus) distracted the attention and weakened the efforts of the kindred adventurers; and ultimately all these became successively the victims of imperial vengeance; chiefly by means of the warlike tribes whom the minister of Honorius had marched from the shores of the Baltic, to crush the new insurrections. But the policy of that minister was, if not perfidious, at least shortsighted. The barbarians whom he had thus introduced into the heart, and to whom he thus betrayed the weakness,

of the empire, from allies soon became masters. They looked with longing eyes to the rich plains of southern France and of Spain. At length, finding the Pyrenean barrier but negligently guarded, the Suevi, under their king Hermeric, the Alans under Atace, and the Vandals, or Silingi, under Gunderic,* burst through it, and poured the tide of destruction over the Peninsula.†

The ravages of these barbarians, we are told, were dreadful. Towns pillaged and burnt, the country laid waste, the inhabitants massacred without distinction of age or sex, were but the beginning of evils. Famine and pestilence made awful havoc: the wild beasts, finding nothing to subsist on in their usual haunts, made war on the human species; and the latter consumed the very corpses of the dead. Nay, mothers are said to have killed their children to feed on their flesh.‡ The conquerors at length ceased from their wantonness of desolation. They found, that to turn the country into a wilderness was not the best policy in men who designed it for a permanent abode. They divided it by lot: Bética fell to the Vandals, Lusitania to the Alans, and Galicia, with a great portion of Leon and Castile, to the Suevi.

411. A fourth people, more formidable than the rest combined, came to trouble the new settlers in their possessions. These were the Goths under ATAVLPHUS, whom Honorius had the address to remove from Italy, by ceding to them the fertile provinces of southern Gaul, and the Peninsula. Having established the seat of his kingdom at Narbonne, where he married his imperial captive Placidia, he passed the Pyrenees, made a triumphant entry into Barcelona, and from thence undertook several expeditions against the Vandals. This prince was, however, no less politic than brave. Well knowing that his forces would be no match against the three warlike na-

* The Suevi descended from the shores of the Baltic. Their first conquests were bounded by the Oder and the Danube: the name of the circle of Suabia has perpetuated their earliest exploits. The territory between the Volga and the Don was the abode of the Alans, who, about the time at which we have arrived, fled before the myriads of Attila. The cradle of the Vandals was Scandinavia.

† Orosius, *Adversus Paganos Historiarum Libri Septem*, lib. vii. cap. 40. Jornandes, *De Origine, Actibus Getarum* liber, p. 615. Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, lib. iii. *Idatii Chronicon* (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iv. App. 4.)

‡ "Matres quoque necatis vel actis per se natorum suorum sint paste corporibus."—*Idatii Chronicon*. This is probably exaggerated. Another author tells us, that when a woman slew and cooked four of her children, the horror inspired by the action was so great, that she was immediately stoned to death by the enraged multitude. One example of this kind is enough for the declamatory chroniclers of Spain, who—and the charge is not applicable to them only, as sufficiently appears from our own whining Gildas—are less swayed by strict truth than an effort at effect.

tions and the Romans united, he became the ally of the latter, and with their aid prepared for the conquest of the Peninsula: but their reputed cowardice rendered them contemptible, while their perfidy made them hateful, to his followers. His junction with such a people created murmurs among his soldiers: to appease them, he reluctantly attempted some act of hostility against the troops of his brother-in-law; but the progress of his arms ill suited their impatience, while the ascendancy held over him by his royal consort secured their contempt. A conspiracy was formed against his life; and the sword of a dwarf pierced his body, as he was conspicuously watching the evolutions of his cavalry, in the court-yard of his palace at Barcelona.*

SIGERIC succeeded, whose ruffianly conduct instantly drew on him the detestation of the Goths. Scarcely had he put to death the six surviving children of Ataulphus, and compelled the widow Placidia to adorn his triumph by walking barefoot through the streets of Barcelona, than another conspiracy deprived him of his throne and his life. His fate excited no commiseration: he had dealt in blood, and there was evident retribution in his end.

The election of the Goths now fell on WALLIA, a chief every way worthy of their choice. His first expedition, however, against the Roman possessions in Africa was disastrous. A violent tempest destroyed his fleet, and forced him to relinquish his design. The news of this disaster soon reached Gaul, and brought Constantius, the general of Honorius, at the head of a numerous army, towards the Pyrenees. Wallia collected the remnant of his troops, and hastened to receive him. Fortunately for the Gothic king, love rather than ambition occasioned the hostile approach of Constantius. That general was more anxious to gain possession of Placidia, whose hand had been promised him by the emperor, than to effect the destruction of the king. No sooner did the two armies encamp in sight of each other, than he proposed peace on conditions too advantageous to be rejected. Wallia had only to surrender the royal widow, and promise to march against the Suevi and the other nations who held possession of the Peninsula, to secure not merely the neutrality but the favor of the Romans. The difficulty was now to reconcile his followers to a measure which had occasioned the destruction of

* Jornandes, *De Origine Get.* p. 617. Sanctus Isidorus, *Historia de Regibus Gothorum*, No. 13. (in Opera). Idatii *Chronicon*, p. 351. (apud Florez, tom. iv. app. 4.). Orosius, lib. vii. c. 43. Joannes Magnus, *Historia Gothorum Buenonumque*, lib. ii. &c. The name of this dwarf, or buffoon, was Dabbia, whose master, Earus, a noble Goth, had been put to death by Ataulphus.

Ambulphus. Before he could reply to the proposals of Constantine, he was obliged to lay them before his soldiers; and it is impossible not to praise the dexterity with which he influenced them through their favorite passions. "Invincible Goths!" he said, "with arms in our hands have we opened for ourselves a way at our pleasure from the north to the remotest bounds of the west: nothing has been able to arrest our progress,—distance, change of climate, mountains, rivers, wild beasts, and the valor of numerous nations, have equally opposed us in vain. The Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi have at length dared to assail us behind, and the Romans in front. It is for you, valiant warriors, to choose the way which most pleases you,—the enemy with which you wish to fight. Choose as you will, your bravery will insure me the victory: while at the head of men to whom fear is unknown, I surely have no reason for fear myself. If the decision were left to me, I should remember only that I am your king: I should listen to courage alone, and select the enemy most worthy to contend with us. As to the Romans, you know them well enough; you know how often their cities have felt the weight of our swords, how the gates of their very capital have opened at our command: why waste any time on such a despicable set of cowards? There is more glory in despising than in subduing them." He concluded by advising them to deliver up Placidia, to march against the fierce northern tribes, who were located in a country which of right belonged to them alone, and promised that, after the conquest of the enemy, he would renew hostilities with Rome. A shout of approbation followed; Placidia was restored, and peace made with the Romans.*

Hostilities were now vigorously commenced against the kindred barbarians. The Vandals were the first to feel the force of the tempest. The valor with which they defended their possessions availed little against the assailants: they were expelled from their habitations, and forced to seek an asylum among the Suevi of Galicia. The Alans of Lusitania were almost entirely cut off, with their king Atace: the remnant incorporated with the Vandals, and their name for ever disappeared from the Peninsula. The Suevi would doubtless have shared the fate of one or other of these people, had they not hastened to put themselves under the protection and acknowledge themselves tributaries of Rome. It was Wallia's interest to respect the allies of the empire. The Suevi were

* Orosius, *Adv. Pag. Historiarum*, lib. vii. c. 43. Jornandes, *De Origine Get.* p. 617. Idatii *Chronicon*, p. 352. (apud Florez, tom. iv.). Joan. Magnus, *Historia*, p. 77, &c.

indeed disarmed, but left in undisputed possession of the country they inhabited.*

The pride of Honorius caused him to regard these signal successes as for his own benefit. The victor was rewarded with a portion of Languedoc and Gascony, from Toulouse to the ocean. That city he made the seat of his kingdom, where he died, two years after his glorious triumphs. From this time to the reign of Euric, the Goths remained chiefly in their new possessions, and were seldom in Spain. Though they considered themselves the rightful lords of the country, the real sovereignty rested with the Suevi and Vandals. They had often, indeed, enough to do with the ambitious Burgundians and Franks, their neighbors, as well as with the imperials, and were not much disposed to embroil themselves with new enemies.

Under the reign of THEODORED, Wallia's successor, the Vandals made war on the Suevi, who, two years before, had received them as brothers. The latter retreated to the fastnesses of the Asturias, where they bade defiance to their ungrateful pursuers. The Vandals forsook Galicia, and fought their way to their former settlements in Bætica, whence Wallia had expelled them. To that province they communicated their name—Vandalicia; which was subsequently changed into Andalusia. There they maintained themselves, in opposition to the imperial generals. The ports of Andalusia and Granada presented them with facilities for pushing their successes on the deep. They constructed a fleet; infested the Balearic Isles; pillaged the coast of Valencia; sacked the city of Carthagera; laid waste the shores of Mauritania; and returned to Seville, where the last act of their king, Gunderic, was to despoil the opulent church of St. Vincent.† A new and higher career was now opened before them. The offer made them by Boniface, the African præfect, of two-thirds of that country, if they would assist him against his enemies, they joyfully accepted. Before embarking, however, they inflicted a terrible blow on their enemies, the Suevi, whom they overthrew near Merida,—whom they precipitated, with their king, into the waters of the Guadiana. They then tranquilly returned to the sea-coast; and, to the number of 80,000

* *Idatii Chronicon*, fol. 4. St. Isidore, *Historia de Reg. Goth.* p. 207.

† Of course the death of Gunderic was the work of the offended saint. He was struck dead on the threshold, says one account; he died after securing the plunder, says another. Both agree that he was carried away by the devil. "*Gundericus Rex Vandalorum, capta Hispali, cum impie elatus in ecclesiam civitatis ipsius extendisset, mox Dei judicio demone correptus, interiit.*"—*Idatii Chron.*

passed over to Africa, in March, 427, eighteen years after their arrival in Spain.*

423 The retreat of these restless barbarians did not insure
to tranquillity to Spain. The Suevi, under their new king,
448. Hermeric, issued from their dark mountains, and bore
down on the peaceable inhabitants of Galicia. Having
easily reduced them, the ambitious monarch pushed his succe-
ses into the neighboring provinces, and in ten years became
formidable alike to the Romans and the Goths. But it was re-
served for his son RICHILAN, to whom, in 438, he resigned his
sceptre, to raise the fame of the nation to the highest pitch. He
descended into Andalusia, routed the Romans on the banks of
the Xenil, and seized on Merida and Seville. Over his new
conquests he held a firm sway until the period of his death.

In the mean time, Theodored was no less occupied in hum-
bling the Roman power in southern Gaul. He was at length
induced to grant peace to his prostrate enemy. While medi-
tating hostilities against the triumphant Suevi, he was sum-
moned to encounter a far more formidable antagonist—the
renowned Attila, king of the Huns. His well-known valor
placed him at the head of the right wing of the Franks, Ro-

451. mans, and Goths, who combined to arrest the progress of
the tremendous torrent. His death on the plains of Cha-
lons, where the pride of the barbaric king was humbled, en-
deared him still more to his subjects, who gratefully elevated
his son THORISMUND to the vacant throne. But the reign of the
new king was brief, and his end tragic. In one year, by the
hands of his two brothers, he was deprived of empire and of life,
in his capital of Thoulouse; and THEODORIC I., the elder of
the fratricides, was elected in his place.†

452 The reign of this prince was diversified by alternate
to success and disaster. He first turned his arms against the
466. Suevi, whom he vanquished, and made their king, Richia-
rius, prisoner; but being recalled to France, the army

* Procop. De Bello Vandal. lib. iii. Jornandes, De Orig. Get. p. 617. Idatius, Chron. p. 354—357. (apud Florez, tom. iv.) Sanctus Isidorus, Historia Gothorum, p. 482, &c. (apud Florez, tom. vi.), p. 481, &c. The brevity of these writers, especially of the two last, leaves nothing to the historian but the dry labor of commenting on a few meager facts. "The histories of these times," says Ferreras, (part iii. sig. 6.), "are so meager, that I am compelled to conjecture where they have neglected to communicate." With equal justice does Sandoval complain of this "summa brevedad," which, as he truly observes, is greater in the early histories of Gothic Spain than in those of any other country.

† Jornandes extends the reign of Thorismund to more than three years; the authority of the bishop Idatius, who was a contemporary, is to be preferred. From the same prelate the death of the king appears not to have been wholly unprovoked: he had probably meditated as much towards his brothers, who seem to have acted from self-defence. "Thorismo rex Gothorum spirans hostilia in Theodorico et Frederico patribus jugulatur," are

which he left in the Peninsula was routed by the natives of Leon, who were indignant at the excesses it committed. The whole country was now in the most miserable condition. Goths, and Romans, and Suevi traversed it in every direction, and everywhere left melancholy vestiges of their barbarous fury. Another fierce tribe, the Heruli, landed on the coast of Catalonia, and zealously prosecuted the same work of desolation. Then the Suevi split into two parties, which pursued each other with the most vindictive feelings, but which were always ready to combine when the natives were to be plundered, or when Goths and Romans were to be opposed. The Spaniard was the prey of all: his labor was doomed to support the innumerable swarms which spread from the Pyrenees to the rock of Calpe, and which, like so many locusts, destroyed wherever they settled. The scourge was more than galling—it was intolerable. Native bands were at length formed in most parts of the Peninsula, not merely to take vengeance on the rapacious invaders,—for in that case they would have been a blessing to their country,—but to plunder all who came in their way. Many of these horrors would have been averted, had Theodoric been at liberty to return in person to Spain, and finish its subjugation; but his wars with the Romans, the Burgundians, and the Franks, found him for some years employment enough. At length, while preparing to conduct a new army across the Pyrenees against Remismund, king of the Suevi, he was assassinated, it is said, by his brother Euric, in his capital of Thoulouse. Not even the virtues of this prince, and he had many, could shield him from the vengeance of Heaven.*

One of the first acts of EURIC was to dispatch an army 466 to humble the pride of the Suevi. His arms were eminently successful. To Bætica and Catalonia, which 483 had acknowledged the sway of his father, he soon added the whole of the Tarraconensian province. Another campaign subjected to his obedience Lusitania and the centre of Spain. No enemy was able to make head against him. The Suevi sued for and obtained peace, and were allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of Galicia, with a portion of modern Leon and Portugal, and to retain their kingly form of govern-

the meager words of Idatius. Of this catastrophe Jornandes gives a different account.

* Idatii Chron. p. 365. (apud Florez, tom. iv.). Jornandes, De Origine Get. p. 627. St. Isid. Hist. Reg. Got. p. 489. (apud eundem, tom. vi.) Sulpitius Severus, Chronicon, (apud eundem, iv. 451.) Perhaps Euric had no immediate hand in the king's death; that tragic event might have been the act of a party of disaffected Goths, who afterwards placed him at their head.

ment. So completely were they become the vassals of the victors, that during a whole century they remained in quiet subjection. We hear no more of them until the time of Leovigild, who dealt the last blow to their national existence, and, as we shall hereafter see, incorporated them with his Gothic subjects. The Romans were less fortunate: their domination in the country was ended for ever by the fall of Tarragona. They continued, indeed, to hold a few unimportant places on the coast; not because they had valor to defend them, but because Euric had no naval force to assail them from the sea. The conqueror, though master of all Spain, disdained to be confined within limits which his ambition deemed much too narrow. Rome was now tottering to her fall; and he resolved to pluck some of the most fertile provinces of Gaul from her feeble grasp. The progress of his arms in that country was so rapid, that the emperor Julius Nepos made haste to conclude a peace with him, by which he was confirmed in the possession of his new conquests. During the brief reign of Manilius, the son of Julius, and the last emperor of the West, he renewed his hostilities, took Marseilles and Arles, and subdued the Burgundians. Odoacer, the Mercenary, king of Italy, renounced in his favor all the Roman provinces beyond the Alps, as far as the Rhine and the ocean: thenceforward the Goths regarded Gaul and Spain as their lawful inheritance. The victor established the seat of his empire at Arles, where he passed in tranquillity the remainder of his days. He died in that capital, A. D. 483, after engaging his subjects to elect for their king his son Alaric.*

Euric was the founder of the Gothic kingdom of Spain. The extinction of the Roman sway, and the subjection of the Suevi, rendered him absolute lord of the country. The six kings, his predecessors, were rulers in Gaul, not of Spain: however they might regard its provinces as rightfully their own, they could obtain possession only by force of arms. Their conquests, however, had been partial and temporary: before Euric, the Peninsula was overrun, not subdued. He was also the first legislator of his nation. The laws which he collected and committed to writing served as the foundation of the famous Gothic code, known by the name of the *Forum Judicum*, or *Fuero Juzgo*, to which the reader's attention will be hereafter requested. He was a great prince; but the fratricide which is believed to have opened him the way to the crown, and the cruelty with which he persecuted the ortho-

* Ibid. Also the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, who was contemporary with Euric, lib. ii. epist. 1, &c.

dox (like his predecessors, he was an Arian), are dreadful stains on his memory.

But ALARIC was unable to tread in the steps of so great a prince as his father. Whether through pusillanimity or prudence, he labored to secure peace for himself and people, and patiently put up with affronts which would have fired most princes of his nation. When Syagrius sought his protection against the vengeance of Clovis, king of the Franks, he had the meanness to surrender his royal suppliant, whom Clovis demanded with threats, and who was in the sequel put to death. This guilty condescension availed him little with one who had cast a longing eye on his possessions, and who was resolved to find some pretext for war. In vain did his father-in-law Theodoric, who had just founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, interpose in his behalf: the fierce Clovis marched towards Poitiers, where Alaric then lay, resolved, as he said, to expel the heretical Arians from the soil of Gaul. In vain did the king of the Wisigoths endeavor to fortify himself in his camp until he received succors from Italy: his own soldiers, incensed at the haughtiness of the Franks, who braved them in their very trenches, compelled him to run the risk of a battle. The Wisigoths, after a sharp conflict, were routed with great loss, and their king left dead on the field. Clovis pursued his successes, and soon reduced the greater part of their possessions in the south of France, and entered victorious into their capital of Thoulouse.*

Alaric left a son; but as he was too young to be intrusted with the government, his bastard brother, GENSALEIC, had the address to procure the elective crown. He was unable to make head against the Franks, and still less, when the Burgundians also entered the field, to share in the partition of the rich spoils of the Goths. But the king of the Ostrogoths now armed in defence not only of a kindred nation, but of his grandson, whom he considered as unjustly supplanted by Gensaleic. His armies invested Gaul, overthrew the Franks, who were pressing the siege of Carcassonne, and forced Gensaleic to seek for safety in Barcelona. The humbled Clovis was glad to sue for peace from the formidable Theodoric, who arrived in person to direct the operations of his generals. The success of his arms seems to

* Ibid.: also St. Gregory of Tours, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, No. 37. (the Benedictine edition). The single combat between Alaric and Clovis, the miraculous fall of the walls of Angoulême, and other circumstances related by the last credulous writer, render his authority in these wars of little weight in any case, unless supported by other testimony, as that of Procopius and St. Isidore.

have roused his ambition; for, regardless of his grandson's rights, he united the two kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and Wisigoths under his own sceptre. The unfortunate Gensaleic was pursued, was defeated in Catalonia, whence he contrived to escape into France; but he was overtaken and slain by the victor.*

511. Though THEODORIC II. never established his court in Spain, he was not regardless of her interests. To Theudis, one of his ablest generals, he intrusted the administration of the country and the guardianship of his grandson. He ordered the judges and local governors to treat the people with lenity; that the riches plundered from the churches should be restored; that the rebels who repented should be pardoned; that Gothic Gaul should be exempted a whole year from every species of tribute; and that duellists should be rigorously punished for daring to take the law into their own hands. Though an Arian, like all his predecessors from the time of the great Alaric the conqueror of Italy, he left to the orthodox the undisturbed exercise of their religion. During his reign several councils were held, which were peaceably occupied on various subjects of discipline. He appears to have been the first to introduce that great innovation into the Spanish church,—the custom of sovereigns nominating to bishoprics.

It was probably from a fear that his minister Theudis, whom he found to be no less ambitious than able, would one day usurp the throne of the Wisigoths, that Theodoric resigned the sceptre of Spain to his grandson, on that prince's arriving at a suitable age. Theudis now retired into private life, not indeed without a sigh, but apparently without a murmur. The Italian king survived this prudent step about four years.†

522. AMALARIC was the first Gothic king who established his court in Spain; in the city of Seville. To Athalaric, the successor of Theodoric, he ceded that portion of France which lies between the Rhone and the Alps, and received in return his father's treasures, which Theodoric had removed from Carcassonne to Ravenna: in the rest of Gothic Gaul, with all Spain, he was solemnly confirmed by Athalaric.

528. To secure his possessions in Gaul against the formidable Franks, Amalaric demanded and obtained the hand

* St. Isidore, Procopius, and the *Cronologia Regum Gothorum*, No. 40. (apud Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. ii.) Sulpitius Severus, *Chronicon* (apud Florez, iv. 452.). Bouges, *Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de la Ville et Diocèse de Carcassonne*, partie i.

† Procopius, *De Bello Gothorum*, lib. i. p. 31. Cassiodori *Opera*, tom. i. lib. iii. epist. 16. (edition of the Monks of St. Maur).

of Clotilda, the sister of the royal sons of Clovis. But the union was unfortunate. The king was a violent partisan of Arius; the queen as obstinate a professor of orthodoxy: at first each attempted to convert the other; but finding their efforts ineffectual, the one was filled with rage, the other with contempt. Amalaric could have no dissent under his very eyes, least of all in his own wife; and Clotilda would recognize no authority over the rights of conscience: the former began to hate a woman who resisted alike entreaties and threats, and who, perhaps, did not always preserve the mildness becoming her profession and sex; the latter despised the man who ill-treated her, and whom she doubtless considered doomed to everlasting perdition. The king is said not only to have prevented her at length from attending the public exercise of her religion, but, when entreaties and remonstrances failed, to have had recourse to blows. The archbishop of Tours even affirms that his outrageous violence often caused her blood to flow, and that she steeped her handkerchief in the purple stream as a memorial of her sufferings. This is both improbable in itself, and is without the confirmation of more ancient authorities. Procopius merely says, that finding herself debarred from the exercise of her religion, and hated by her husband because she would not embrace heresy, she informed her brother Childebert of the fact, and requested to be removed to a place where she could follow, with security, the dictates of her conscience. Such, too, is the account given by the native historians, which is far more probable than that of the Frank writers, who assert that the blood-stained memorials were sent by her to the king her brother, with an earnest request that he would hasten to release her from the martyrdom she sustained. However this be, Childebert collected a large army, and, full of vengeance or of ambition, marched against his brother-in-law. The details of this expedition are unknown, or at least uncertain; but the result was fatal to Amalaric, who fell by the swords of the Franks, whether on the field of battle, as Procopius asserts, or afterwards as he was seeking sanctuary in a church, must for ever remain undecided. The battle in question appears to have been fought, not in Gothic Gaul, but in Catalonia. Childebert returned to France with his sister and the immense treasures which he had seized in the Arian churches.*

* Procopius, *De Bello Gothorum*, lib. i. p. 33. Jornandes, *De Origine Getarum*, p. 639. Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, lib. iii. Sanctus Isidorus, *Historia de Regibus Gothorum*, (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. vi. p. 416, &c.). Masdeu *España Goda*, lib. ii. p. 103.

531. With Amalaric ended the royal line of the mighty Alaric. THEUDIS was unanimously elected to the vacant throne. He appears to have been engaged in hostilities for some years with the vindictive or ambitious sons of Clovia. Gothic Gaul he was compelled to abandon to its fate, but he vigorously defended his peninsular dominions, which were invaded and laid waste by Childebert and Clothaire. If any reliance is to be placed on the historians of the Franks, superstition no less than his own valor enabled him to rescue the country from its unwelcome visitors. The two kings, say they, had laid siege to Saragossa, and pressed it with their usual fury. One day the inhabitants, despairing of success by human means, joined in solemn procession, and appeared on the walls: the men clad in sackcloth, bearing the relics of St. Vincent; the women covered with long black garments, with their hair dishevelled, and both joining in penitential hymns. This novel spectacle struck the royal brothers with surprise. At first they supposed it to be some piece of magic; but on

542. hearing from a peasant who accidentally passed, that the besieged were imploring the aid of the sainted martyr, they were seized with a panic fear, and hastily retreated.* They were pursued and overtaken by Theudis, not far from the Pyrenees, and were precipitately driven into France, with the loss of their plunder, and the greater portion of their troops.†

548. Elated with his success, the victorious Theudis passed the straits of Gibraltar, and laid siege to Ceuta, then in possession of the imperial troops. The place was invested with vigor; and this recent conquest of Belisarius would soon have passed to the Wisigoths or the Vandals, but for the pious scruples of the king. Though an Arian, he revered the Sab-

* Ado of Vienna, the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, and the monk Annonus, add, that Childebert, before his retreat, obtained from the bishop of Saragossa a stole of St. Vincent, in honor of which he built a magnificent church at Paris, that afterwards became the abbey of the Benedictines. If the Franks had time to bargain for the relic, what becomes of their panic fear?

† Jornandes, St. Isidore, and the anonymous *Chronologia Regum Gothorum*. With equal reason and indignation does Masdeu (*España Goda* ii. 109.) censure the Frank historians for concealing the reverses of their countrymen. "Este sistema irregular, y tan contrario a la naturaleza de la historia, se nota muy comunamente en los autores antiguos de la Francia." And in the modern ones too, he would have said, had he lived to read the French accounts of their own wars from the revolution to the restoration of Louis XVIII.

On this subject Ferreras (part iii. sig. 6.) has a good argument. After alluding to the dishonesty of the French historians, and to their obstinacy in following Gregory of Tours, their partial countryman, he asks why Gregory is to be believed in preference to Isidore? If the former be a saint, so is the latter; and one saint, he submits, is surely as good as another.

bath; on which he not only refrained from hostile operations, but with his soldiers was occupied in public worship. Less strict than their foe, the besieged issued from the walls, fell on the Goths at the hour of prayer, and committed on them a carnage so horrible that the king had some difficulty to escape. He did not long survive this disaster. An assassin who counterfeited the fool contrived to elude the vigilance or to lull the suspicion of the guards, to penetrate into the recesses of his palace, and with a poniard to deprive him of life. Before he expired, he is said to have ordered that the murderer should not be punished, as in his death he recognized the hand of Heaven, which thus chastised him for a similar crime he had himself committed many years before. He left behind him the character of a just, a valiant, and an able ruler, who secured to his kingdom the blessings of internal peace, by avoiding all invidious preference of his own religious sect, and treating the orthodox with as much favor as his Arian brethren.*

Of the next two princes who successively swayed the Gothic sceptre, very little is known. The former, THEUDISEL, who had been the general of Theudis, and had acquired considerable fame in the war with the Franks, was a monster of licentiousness. The wives and daughters of his courtiers were the chief victims of his lust: where persuasion failed, he had recourse to force; and the husbands or fathers who murmured were banished or imprisoned; those who resisted were put to death. But the high-spirited Goths were no blind worshippers of royalty; their king was not invested with the superstitious attributes of the Roman or Persian rulers; they regarded him as one of themselves,—one to whose authority they were willing to submit, so long as he fulfilled his share of the compact made at his accession to the throne; but one, also, whom it was their privilege no less than their duty to depose when they found his power exerted to oppress rather than benefit them. This second Sardanapalus had scarcely reigned eighteen months before his destruction was effected by his enraged nobles. He was supping with them one evening in his palace at Seville, when the lights were suddenly extinguished, and a dozen swords entered his body.† He was

* Ibid.: also Greg. Turon. Hist. Eccles. Francorum, lib. iii. No. 30.

† Gregory of Tours, with his usual credulity, records a miracle which happened in the reign of this king, and which might possibly have something to do with his death. It was asserted by the orthodox clergy that at Oset, in Lusitania, the baptismal font was miraculously filled with water once every year. The king very reasonably doubted the truth of this report, asserting that the whole was a contrivance of the *Romans*, as he termed the Trinitarians. To expose the imposture rather than satisfy himself, he visited the church, ordered a deep ditch to be dug round the font in search of concealed pipes, placed his seal on it, caused the doors to be locked, and

succeeded by AGILAN, whose reign was one continued series of commotions. Many cities of Southern Spain refused to recognize his election. Among these was Cordova, which armed against him. He marched to chastise them, but was vanquished, with the loss of his son and treasures; and was ignominiously forced to seek shelter within the walls of Merida. From Cordova the insurrection spread to other provinces: it was headed by Athanagild, a Gothic noble, who aspired to the throne. To strengthen his party, this ambitious man called in the assistance of the imperial troops; and with these combined forces the king was again defeated, and ultimately slain by his own soldiers, in his retirement at Merida.

Scarcely had ATHANAGILD obtained the great object of his wishes, than he discovered how fatally his ambition had blinded him. The troops of Justinian, his imperial ally, had no intention of leaving the country. From their fortresses in the Carthaginian province they defied his power to expel them, and frequently made destructive irruptions into the neighboring provinces. In vain did he obtain some successes over them, and even rescue a few towns from their grasp: he could not pursue them to their last strong-hold. Nor were his successors more fortunate: the unwelcome intruders remained until they were insensibly incorporated with the Gothic inhabitants.

This prince is more famous from the misfortunes of his two daughters than from his own deeds. The one he married to Sigibert king of Metz, the other to Chilperic king of Soissons. The latter, Galsvinda or Gosvinda, was murdered by order of her husband; no doubt at the instigation of his mistress Fredegunda. Her fate excited the same sentiments, those of pity and indignation, both in Gaul and Spain; but not so that of her sister Brunichilda. In Spain, the memory of this princess is held in the highest reverence; in France, it is branded with infamy. In the one country, she is considered a suffering saint, a model of the Christian virtues: in the other, a compound of all that is bad in human nature. The persecutions which after her husband's death she sustained from the unprincipled Fredegunda, and the ferocious Chilperic, and her tragical end,

returned to his palace in the intention of waiting for the solemn day (the third day inclusive from Holy Thursday) on which the miracle was to be renewed. His tragic end in the mean time saved the parties implicated from the shame of conviction; knavery triumphed by renewed deceptions. "The king was murdered," says Southey (*Notes to Roderic*, vol. i.), "as opportunely as Arius himself." The same eminent person is of opinion that in digging for the pipes the workmen did not go deep enough. Most likely there was no digging in the case. The whole story, with its minutely recorded circumstances, is, as Masdeu remarks, a fable of much later times.

many years afterwards, by the command of Clothaire, are events which belong to the history of France, rather than that of Spain. Into the question of her guilt or innocence no inquiry need be instituted here: there are authorities enough to be consulted on both sides; and in both abundant reason may be found to lament the influence of national prejudice, which can blind the wise and exasperate the good.*

During the reign of Athanagild, the Suevi, who had abandoned paganism for the errors of Arius, in the time of their king Rechiarus, about a century before, were converted to the orthodox faith. Though subject to the Goths, they had still preserved, as before observed, their kingly form of government. Theodomir, their present monarch, hearing of the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, sent a deputation with rich presents to entreat the aid of that saint for his son, then dangerously ill. "If my son," said he, "recovers through St. Martin's relics, I will believe what the saint believed." The deputation returned, but the young prince was no better. Messengers were again dispatched, and a church was built in honor of St. Martin in Galicia. This time, the saint was more indulgent; they had scarcely landed on their return, when they heard of the prince's restoration to health. The king kept his word; both he and his court solemnly abjured Arianism, were rebaptized, and admitted into the bosom of the church. The whole nation soon imitated their example, which had probably some influence on Athanagild, since, as St. Gregory the Great informs us, he had embraced the Catholic religion in his heart, but dread of his Arian subjects prevented him from professing it.†

* See Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. v. cap. 10. Feyjoo, *Teatro Critical*, tom. vi. dis. 2. 6.; and, above all, Masdeu (*España Goda*, lib. xi. *Ilustracion* iv.), who zealously endeavor to confute the authority of Fredegarius (*Historia Francorum Epitomata*, No. 37.), of Aimonus (*De Gestis Regum Francorum*, lib. iii. c. 12.), and of the anonymous authors of *Gesta Regum Francorum* (No. 33, &c.; all three in Duchesne), and who base their defence on the praises bestowed on the princess by her contemporaries Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Eccles. Franc.* lib. v. et. vi.), by Pope Gregory the Great (*Opera*, tom. ii. *Epist.* v. &c.) and on the silence of contemporary writers as to the crimes reported to have been committed by her. Both charity and chivalry would induce us to take part with the Spanish historians in favor of a lady, did they not attempt to conceal her real frailties (of crimes she was probably guiltless), and raise a weak, in some respects an imprudent woman into a saint. That she was undeserving the severe censures of Baronius (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xi. an. 612.), of his commentator Pagi (*Critica Hist. Chronol.* in *Annal. Baron.* xi. No. 5, &c.), of Valerius (*Rerum Franc.* ii. 579.), is more than probable; but we must agree with Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*, liv. xxxi. chap. 1.), that the queen, daughter, sister, and mother of so many kings, would never have been permitted to sustain the torments she did, had she not forfeited, in some way or other, the favor of the whole nation.

† St. Gregorius Turonensis, *De Virtutibus Sancti Martini*, lib. i. cap. 11.

567. After a peaceful, just, and useful reign of near fourteen years, and an interregnum of five months, occasioned by want of unanimity among the electors, the party of Narbonne in Gothic Gaul succeeded in raising LIUVA to the throne. This prince appears to have set little value on the brilliant honor, and consequently to have been a stranger to ambition. He contented himself with Gothic Gaul; and, in the second year of his reign, he confided to his brother Leovigild the sovereignty of Spain. Of Liuva no more is known except that he died in three years from his election, leaving his brother sole ruler of the kingdom.

570 The reign of LEOVIGILD is more interesting than that of his predecessors. His first war was against the imperialists, whom he chased from Granada, and from
580. whom he took Malaga, Medina-Sidonia, Cordova, and some other towns. Nor was he less successful against the rebels, who, for what reason the chroniclers of the times do not inform us, had arisen in various parts of the country, especially in Castile and Leon, to resist his authority. The money and persuasions of the imperialists are said to have been the chief cause of these insurrections. There is, however, more reason to believe that the difference of religion between the Goths and the Spaniards may have contributed to them in a degree at least equal. However this be, his arms were triumphant in every direction. The soldiers of the empire were again compelled to take refuge in their fortresses on the coast; and the fierce inhabitants of Biscay, Alava, and even Cantabria, to surrender at discretion. These successes were not obtained without loss both of troops and of time: ten years, at least, does he appear to have been occupied in this great work of establishing peace in his dominions, from the straits of Gibraltar to the mountains of Biscay.*

But the most painful, if not the most formidable, of his enemies, he found in his eldest son Ermenigild. Yet few sons had ever more reason for filial gratitude. By an affectionate father, on his marriage with the princess Ingunda, daughter of the famous Brunichilda, and of Sigebert,† (which was celebrated in Toledo in 582,) he had been associated in the royal

St. Isidorus, *Hist. de Regibus Goth.* p. 489, &c. (apud Florez, tom. vi.). Sanctus Gregorius (Magnus, *Dialogorum*, lib. iii. (in Opera, tom. ii.) Joannis Biclarensis Chron. (apud Florez, vi. 376.).

* Joannis Biclarensis Chronicon, an. 570. 581. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. vi.). Sanctus Isidorus, *Chronicon*; necnon *Historia de Regibus Gothorum*, ubi *supra*.

† About the same time the second son Recared was to have been furnished with a royal bride from the same family. For the extraordinary circumstances which prevented the union, see Appendix C.

dignity, and in every other respect treated with the utmost liberality. But Ingunda was orthodox, and Gosvinda, the second wife of Leovigild, a professor of the Arian sect. The two queens could not long agree: the son was resolved that her stepdaughter should embrace the religion of the Goths; the other, that no force on earth should induce her to do so. Gosvinda had violent passions, and when resisted resembled a fury rather than a woman. She so far forgot, it is said, all sense not merely of dignity but of decency, as to punish the obstinacy of Ingunda with blows: she seized her one day, says St. Gregory of Tours, by the hair of the head, threw her down, trampled on her, and afterwards forcibly thrust her into the water, to be baptized by an Arian priest. It is difficult to believe that such outrageous behavior was wholly unprovoked: there must have been many previous causes of offence; perhaps many taunts and insults between the two, before such open and vindictive hostility was exhibited by the consort of Leovigild: probably the animosity was owing much more to jealous rivalry than to religious zeal. Two queens in the same court could scarcely be expected to live on terms of amity, especially when, as in the present case, the one was old, ugly, and ill-tempered; the other, who was but sixteen, beautiful, and anxious to win the favor of all. The result was such as any one might predict without the gift of prophecy: the two husbands, finding that their palace was scandalized, and their happiness hourly embittered by such disgraceful scenes, agreed to have separate courts: while the elder remained at Toledo, the younger established his court at Seville, which in splendor was little inferior to that of Leovigild.

Ermenigild had not long been established in his new palace before he abjured Arianism, and embraced the Catholic religion. 578. His conversion was chiefly the work of his consort, who had acquired great ascendancy over him; but it was doubtless hastened by the arguments of his uncle, St. Leander, the bishop of Seville (his mother, Theodosia, the first wife of Leovigild, is celebrated as the sister of three saints.) Leovigild, though of a soul naturally elevated, had yet something of the violence which characterized his queen. He heard with indignation of what he termed his son's recreancy; and it is probable that, in the first moments of his anger, he declared that the crown of the Goths should never adorn the brow of an apostate. The breach was doubtless widened by their respective queens, until it ended in open hostility. It is difficult to say which of the two first drew sword in this unnatural warfare; but there is probability for throwing the guilt on the son. One account says, that after mature deliberation

the feelings of nature triumphed in the heart of Leovigild; that he requested an interview with the prince, whom he hoped to reclaim; and that the latter not only refused to meet him, but made active preparations to defend his government and religion. Another contemporary authority asserts that the prince took up arms at the instance of the Catholic Christians, who recognized him for their head, and were eager to dethrone his heretical father. The archbishop of Tours, indeed, makes Leovigild the assailant; but, on the other hand, Gregory the Great, who was likely to be much better informed through his friend Leander, the counsellor and uncle of the rebel, assigns not the shame, but the honor, of the first hostilities to "the champion of the true faith."*

583. What gives confirmation to the suspicion that Ermeni-
584. gild led the way to the disasters which followed, is the fact, that he opened an intercourse with the enemies of his father immediately after, perhaps at the time of, his conversion. He allied himself with the Greeks, and dispatched Leander to Constantinople to obtain the ratification of the treaty,—a commission which that prelate was not ashamed to execute. He wrote to Mir, king of the Suevi in Galicia, entreating the aid of so good a Catholic against his Arian father. Fortunately, however, for the independence of the country, this undutiful son, this obstinate rebel and ambitious traitor, had to deal with an able, a vigilant, and a valiant captain. Before his atrocious designs were put into execution, he was besieged in his residence of Seville by the incensed father and monarch. Mir, who was marching to his aid, was surrounded, and compelled to swear that he would aid his liege lord: finally, the imperialists were induced by a bribe to remain neutral during the approaching contest. The city was, in consequence, more closely invested; yet so numerous and obstinate was the party headed by the prince, that the place held out a considerable time,—certainly more than a year; but at length, exhausted by fatigue, and still more by want of provisions, the besieged saw no hope but in capitulation. The prince succeeded in effecting his escape to Cordova; but thither he was followed by his active parent. That place too being compelled to surrender, he fled to Osset, now Juan de Alfarache, where he

* Joannes Biclarensis, or John Abbot of Valclara in Catalonia (who acted and suffered in these reigns), *Chronicon*, p. 388. (apud Florez, tom. vi.). St. Greg. Turon. *Hist. Eccles. Franc.* lib. iii. St. Greg. Magni *Dialogorum*, lib. iii. c. 31. Fredegarius Sancti Gregorii Turonensis, *Historiæ Francorum Epitoma*, No. 33. This abbreviator of St. Gregory adds something of his own. The rebellion of Ermenigild is his greatest merit with Morales (*Cronica General*, iii. 75.):—"Y la verdad es que este principe se levanto contra su padre por ser hereje, haziendose el cabeza, y capitan de los Catholicos."

hastily intrenched himself. To arrest the approach of the king, and thereby to obtain a little time for the assembling of a new army, he dispatched 300 select followers to harass the enemy: these were immediately cut in pieces, and the fortifications of Oset destroyed by fire. No hope of resistance now remaining, the rebel betook himself to a neighboring church, whence he implored pardon from his justly incensed father. The king promised to spare his life, if he would leave the sanctuary. By the persuasion of his brother Recared, who appears to have acted throughout in a manner highly creditable both as son and brother, he came out; and, with all the outward signs of repentance, threw himself at the feet of the king. The latter raised him, kissed him, and wept. For some time the father struggled with the king. At length he ordered that the rebel should be despoiled of the royal ornaments, and exiled to Valencia, thenceforward to live as a private individual.*

Had all ended here, the justice of Leovigild would have been approved by posterity, and the rebel would never have been lauded for virtues which he did not possess. But Emenigild was incapable of gratitude: perhaps the clemency with which he had been treated only rendered him the more daring and criminal. He had scarcely arrived at his place of exile, when he again pursued his guilty plots against his country and king. He again connected himself with the Greeks, the most faithless and most formidable enemies to the repose of Spain; instigated the natives to rebellion; and, at the head of this combined force, made an irruption into Estremadura. The indignation of Leovigild may well be conceived. Having collected a veteran body of troops, he opened another melancholy campaign against the arch-rebel, drove him from Merida, and pursued him into Valencia.† The intention of the latter was to escape to France, in the hope of arming his brother-in-law in his favor; but he was closely followed by the emissaries of his father; was delivered—or he fell—into their hands, and thrown into the dungeons of a prison at Tarragona. Now commences the tragical part of the relation. There is no reason for supposing that the prince's death was

* The same authorities as before.

† Gregory of Tours has a miracle concerning this war. The troops of Leovigild are represented as everywhere hostile to the churches and monasteries of the orthodox, which they plundered and burnt, and the inmates of which they massacred without compunction. On one occasion, the monks having fled, the aged abbot resolved to remain. A soldier raised his sword against the intrepid churchman, but was instantly struck dead: his comrades fled with precipitation, and Leovigild caused the plunder to be restored to one on whose behalf Heaven had so signally manifested itself.—*Miraculorum*, lib. iii. cap. 12.

decreed; on the contrary, every step of Leovigild was indicative of regard for one who, though stained by the darkest crimes, was still his son, and whose reformation, even yet, paternal charity might consider possible. But knowing the danger of the connexion between that son and the Catholics, —how fatal it had proved to his own peace and that of the kingdom, how fruitful a source of evils it might hereafter prove,—his first and greatest care was to detach him from them. For this purpose, he dispatched several confidential messengers to the prince, promising, it is said, not only pardon, but a restoration to royal favor, if he would return to the Arian faith. With a constancy which certainly does him honor, Ermenigild alike disregarded promises and threats, and declared his unalterable resolution of living and dying in the Catholic faith. The king was still more incensed; but he did not resort, nor, as it appears, even intended to resort, to desperate measures. One night he sent an Arian bishop to the dungeon, with an assurance, that if the prisoner would so far comply with the royal wish as to receive the communion from the hands of that prelate, nothing more should be required from him, and his full pardon should be instantly sealed. However we may condemn this persecuting zeal of the king, it was quite natural in that age; and we must remember, too, that policy had at least as much concern in it as bigotry; for could the report but be spread that the prince had even in one point outwardly conformed to Arianism, the end in view would be attained,—the confederation between him and the restless rebels would be effectually broken. In refusing to receive the communion thus offered him, he did what every conscientious mind must praise; but if any authority is to be placed on the statement of a contemporary writer, Gregory of Tours,—and no one has ever called it in question,—he behaved with extreme insolence to the bishop, who, as his father's messenger, was surely entitled to respect:—"As the minister of the devil, thou canst only guide to hell. Begone, wretch! to the punishments which are prepared for thee!" The insulted prelate returned to the king, to whom he related what had passed. Then it was that Leovigild, whose inflammable temper seldom required the torch of excitement, broke out 584. into a fit of ungovernable fury, and gave orders for the execution of the youth. The order was but too promptly obeyed: the minister of vengeance hastened to the dungeon, and a hatchet cleft the head of the prince of the Goths.*

* Joan. Biclár. p. 390. (apud Florez, tom. vi.) St. Gregorius Magnus, Dialogorum lib. iii. cap. 31. St. Gregorius Turonensis, Hist. Eccles. Franc. lib. v. St. Isidorus, Hist. Reg. Goth. p. 490, &c. (apud Florez, tom. vi.)

That the crimes of Ermenigild deserved death, no one can attempt to deny ; but nature shudders when a parent, in however just a cause, becomes the executioner of his child : no excuse can shield Leovigild from the execration of posterity. All that can be urged in his defence is—and it is very little—that he never deliberately meditated so revolting a deed, and that the fatal mandate escaped him when passion had deprived him of self-control. But neither will historic truth permit the victim to be called a *martyr*. There is abundant reason to believe that, had he not added rebellion to conversion, he would have had little to fear. He might, indeed, have been stripped of his royal attributes ; but he would have been permitted to live as a private noble ; and it is not improbable that a short interval would have witnessed his restoration to his honors. After his first rebellion,—after leaguings with the vindictive enemies of his country to deluge her plains with blood, and to hurl an affectionate parent from a throne so nobly filled,—he was merely sent to reside at a distance from the court ; deprived, indeed, of useless splendor, but not of the real comforts of life. Even yet a proper sense of his guilt, an humble and sincere acknowledgment of his past errors, would have soon disarmed the resentment of the king. Nay, with a clemency of which there are few records in history, his second rebellion would, in time, have been overlooked, had he consented to renounce all intercourse with the Catholic traitors ; above all, with that perfidious one, Leander, whom superstition has canonized. But what are we to think of *Saint Ermenigild* ? what of the daring impiety which could invest a weak and wicked youth with attributes little less than divine ? By the breviary of the Spanish church, and one or two ancient chroniclers, we are told that the dungeon of the saint, on the night of his execution, was illuminated with celestial light ; that angels hovered over the corpse, and celebrated his martyrdom with holy songs !* Then as to the miracles wrought by his intercession ;—omitting all mention of those which are said to have occurred during the darkness of the

See also the history of the archbishop Roderic Ximenes (Rerum in Hispania Gestarum), lib. ii. c. 14. Morales, Cronica, t. ii. lib. xi. cap. 67. Ferreras, part iii. sig. 6. Florez, España Sagrada, t. vi. p. 410 ; and Masdeu, España Goda, t. x. p. 136, &c.

* “ Mas luego fue nuestro señor servido mostrar con milagros la gloria que el alma de su santo martyr gozaba con el en su regno, y como le debian reverenciar en la tierra. Los angeles cantaron de noche hymnos y psalmos sobre el cuerpo del santo ; y otros afirmaron que avian parecido alli lambres del cielo, que quitavan las tinieblas de la carcel.”—*Morales, Cron. Gener.* iii. 79. Ermenigild was not canonized until the pontificate of Sixtus V., towards the close of the sixteenth century. One of his bones is preserved as a holy relic in the church of Saragossa.

middle ages—a darkness in Spain “that might be felt,”—what are we to say of a writer who, so late as the close of the sixteenth century, gravely tells us, that in his behalf a signal miracle has been performed through the instrumentality of this precious saint? Even the judicious Masden, at the close of the eighteenth century, could not, or perhaps dared not, divest himself of the pitiful prejudices of his country’s faith.

After the news of Ermenigild’s death, the brothers of Ingunda

587. armed in the cause of their widowed sister. At the same time the Suevi showed a disposition to be restless, and prepared to descend from the mountains of Galicia, on the plains of central Spain. Nothing could exceed the promptitude with which Leovigild met these threatening disasters. While he himself marched to subdue his rebellious vassals, whose nationality he had long resolved to destroy, he dispatched his son Recared into Gaul to oppose the Franks. Both expeditions were eminently successful. In the former, he was materially aided by the dissension which prevailed among the Suevi, of whom a considerable number were hostile to their reigning monarch, the usurper, Andeca. The new king was served as he had served the lawful ruler, Eboric,—his head was shaven, and he was consigned to a monastery. All Galicia submitted, and a final period was put to the domination of the Suevi, 177 years after their arrival in Spain. In the latter expedition, Recared, after various successes, expelled the invaders from Gothic Gaul.†

This great prince was now undisputed master of the Peninsula, with the exception of some maritime fortresses still

* Morales, iii. 79. He fell, he says, into the water at Port St. Martin, enveloped in his cloak. As he could not swim, he called on God and “his glorious saint” for his soul’s salvation, being hopeless of bodily safety. He had sunk twice, when a sailor from an adjoining vessel stretched out a pole on which he laid hold, and was thereby extricated from death. On measuring the pole afterwards, he found it *so short that it could not reach the water!* No doubt the saint had lengthened it, and when its service was done, permitted it to regain its natural dimension. He assures us that he could enumerate many mercies vouchsafed to him “through the intercession of this holy prince.” In honor of his patron this author has a poem in Latin hexameters, equal in extent to a book of the *Æneid*. He thus alludes to the miracle:—

“Namque ego non dignus votis te aut voce precari,
 Poscere te indignum fecerent quem crimina: casu
 Oceano mersus, salsos sub gurgite fluctus
 Cum biberem, vitæque esset spes nulla superstes:
 Tunc animo inclamans (vocem præcluserat unda)
 Ermenigilde! tecum vocis sine munere nomen
 Mente voco, mente ingemino. Jamque halitus ore
 Comprimitur vitæ, et totus defecerat usus;
 Corde tamen necdum tunc, sancte, oblivis perstant
 Ulla tui. Donec cælo jam redditus undis
 Servatus, jam verba sonant, jam solvere gratas,
 Inque tuas, princeps, cæpi prorumpere laudes.”

† Authorities the same as before.

held by the Greeks. Unfortunately, however, for his fame, he stained the lustre of a splendid reign by persecuting the orthodox or Catholic party. Some prelates he bribed, some he terrified into apostasy; and such as withstood alike his allurements and threats, he punished with imprisonment, exile, or even death. His avarice appears to have been equal with his thirst for vengeance: the churches and monasteries of the orthodox were plundered; and rich individuals compelled to purchase their exemption from his rigor. With the treasures thus acquired he surrounded his throne with new splendor. Unlike his predecessors, whose habits were those of their nobles, and whom their authority only distinguished from the people, he assumed the crown in public, erected a magnificent throne in his palace, and encompassed himself with all the ensigns of majesty. He is the first of the Wisigoth kings represented on ancient coins, with the royal diadem on his brow. But his riches were not wholly expended in idle pomp. The city of Recopolis, which he founded in Celtiberia, in honor of his son Recared; was a monument of his patriotism. Such, also, were the improvements which he introduced into the national legislation.

Leovigild died in 587; very shortly after his successes over the Suevi. A year before his death, he associated his son in his royal dignity, probably as a reward for the abilities and courage which that prince had exhibited in the war with the Franks. His character will be best learned from his acts. His greatest glory, in a Spaniard's eye, is his suspected conversion to the Catholic faith a few days before his death. If the alleged change were less disputable, we should hear no more of his defects; they would be carefully covered by the veil of orthodoxy.*

On the death of his father, RECARDED I. was unanimously acknowledged sole king of the Goths. 587.

In about a year after his accession, this prince conceived the hardy project of reclaiming his subjects from heresy. It is not easy to fix the period when he himself forsook Arianism for orthodoxy: probably it was before his father's death, and immediately after the recall of his uncle St. Leander, to whom the late king was said to have intrusted both the prince and kingdom. His new sentiments, however, he took care to conceal with religious caution: still more anxious was he to

* The same authorities as before. This conversion of Leovigild is expressly confirmed by St. Gregory, who says, that for seven days before his death, he bitterly wept his persecution of the true faith, which he had just embraced. The archbishop's testimony (he had only report for his authority) in such cases as this is not of much weight.

prevent the resolution he had formed reaching the ears of his people. He well knew what difficulties he must necessarily encounter in attempting to carry it into effect: he knew that the Goths were too fierce a race to be compelled to any measure, especially to one at which their inveterate prejudices would revolt. Time and patience, as well as a prudent dexterity, were indispensable towards the success of his project. By inviting his Catholic and Arian prelates to dispute in his presence, and by assuming the appearance of perfect impartiality between them, he laid the foundation of the change he meditated. Professing himself an enemy to all persecution for conscience sake, and exhorting the two parties to peace and harmony, he succeeded in disposing the minds of both to calmness and reflection. But he did not depend on his own personal influence alone: he secretly dispatched his clerical confidants into the provinces to inculcate the same important lessons on the people. His next was a bolder step, though in perfect accordance with his new policy: he restored to the Catholic churches the treasures of which they had been deprived by his predecessors, and secured to the more indigent ones a considerable augmentation of revenue. All this he was enabled to accomplish without calling forth the murmurs of his heterodox subjects,—more, doubtless, through the influence of his personal character than his lessons of moderation. He was indeed deservedly popular: his clemency towards all but the incorrigibly vicious, his liberality towards the poor, his love of justice, his affability of deportment, his generosity, effectually secured him the warm attachment of his people, and did more to further the object he had in view than either reason or eloquence. When he saw his preparations sufficiently matured, he assembled his nobles and clergy at Toledo (May 8th, 589), to discuss his proposal. Having prevailed on the assembly to pass three consecutive days in fasting and prayer, he opened the business of the meeting in an elaborate speech: he represented religion as a concern of the highest moment to man, not only as it involved the happiness or misery of an eternal state, but even as it affected human welfare in this life, since no society could long remain organized without its awful sanction. He next adverted to the two religions in a tone of mildness, indeed, but, at the same time, of great resolution. He appealed to the miracles alleged to have been wrought in behalf of the Catholic faith, to prove its divine origin; expressed his belief in their reality and multitude; and concluded by saying, that as, after the most mature deliberation, he was convinced of the truth of that faith, he had previously determined to make a public profession of it,

though he disclaimed all intention of forcing the conscience of any other man. He submitted, however, to the assembly, that, if unity of religion could be restored, an end would be put to the troubles which had so long agitated the kingdom, and which had consequently impeded both national prosperity and individual happiness. Lastly, he caused an instrument to be read, containing his abjuration of Arianism, and the confession of his belief in the co-equality of the Three Persons, and in the authority of the Catholic and apostolic church; and entreated all who were present to follow his example. His discourse was received not merely with approbation, but with applause; and when he and his queen had solemnly signed the act of confession, most of the prelates and nobles in the assembly hastened to do the same. The Catholic faith was thus declared the religion of the state. Spaniard, Sueve, and Goth were thus joined in one communion; and a canon was drawn up at the suggestion of St. Leander and the king, and with the full concurrence of the several members present, that thenceforth no person should be admitted to the Lord's Supper who should not previously recite the symbol of belief as sanctioned by the council of Constantinople.*

However general the satisfaction felt by the majority 568. of the Goths at this important change, not a few remained who had the courage to denounce it as apostasy: one or two of the more bigoted Arian prelates were not content with inveighing, both in public and in private, against it: they went so far as to conspire against the life of the king. In one of these conspiracies, Gosvinda, widow of Leovigild, so infamous for her behavior to Ingunda, was deeply implicated. But the plots were discovered, and their framers punished, yet not with rigor; for Recared was averse to even strict justice. Gosvinda was left to Heaven and her own conscience.

Scarcely had the Gothic monarch effected the conversion of his subjects, when he was called to defend those of southern Gaul against Gontram, king of the Franks, who burned to retrieve the honor of his arms, so sullied during the last war with Leovigild. A force of 60,000 men seemed sufficient to extinguish for ever the Gothic power in Gaul. Carcassonne fell, and the neighboring territory was ravaged by the inva-

* St. Greg. Mag. Dialogi, lib. iii. c. 31.; et Epistolæ, lib. i. p. 43. St. Greg. Turonensis, Hist. Eccles. Franc. lib. ix. St. Isidorus, Hist. de Regibus Gothorum, æra 624. Epistola Recharedis Regis ad Beatum Gregorium, necnon Epistolæ tres Gregorii ad Recharedem Regem Gothorum atque Suevorum. (The three last are in the España Sagrada, and in Masdeu.) Aguirre, Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ, tom. ii. æra 627. Joannis Biclarenensis Chron. p. 383., &c. (apud Florez, vi.) Morales, Cron. Gen. tom. ii. lib. 12. Masdeu, España Goda, tom. x. p. 157., and Illustracion 7,

ders; but here ended their short-lived success: near the same city they were utterly routed, and their camp seized by the general of Recared, 9000 of their number being left dead on the field. Though the hostility of Gontram continued undiminished, he durst not renew the war during the life of Recared; on whose enterprises, as they were founded in justice, fortune or Providence seemed to smile. Not less signal was his success over the Basques, who, with their characteristic restlessness, had long harassed the neighboring provinces. The imperialists, too, he humbled, and compelled them to seek refuge in their fortresses. We are not told how these soldiers, whose numbers could not have been considerable, continued to maintain themselves on the coasts of so powerful a kingdom, in defiance of an able king and a warlike nation. Neither the facility of their situation for receiving supplies by sea, nor the strength of their positions, will sufficiently account for the fact. Splendid as the Gothic monarchy of Spain appears when regarded by us at such a distance of time, it must have exhibited some weak points to the near observer. It consisted of very discordant materials: the Sueve hated the Goth, the Goth the Sueve, and the Spaniard both: ages were required to do away the animosity which ages had engendered. It was doubtless the policy of the imperialists to keep alive these national antipathies,—to blow, whenever opportunity served, the smothered sparks into a flame, and to profit by the conflagration which followed. Besides, the Goths, like the Poles, however formidable in the open field, were never very successful in reducing fortified places: they had all the valor with little of the science of war.

The rest of this monarch's reign was a continual effort to promote the happiness of his people: his administration was beyond example prosperous; and he enjoyed to an unrivalled extent their confidence and affection. It has been truly said of him, that there arose no war in which he was not victorious; no rebellion which he did not crush; no conspiracy which he did not discover. Excellent as were his personal qualities, and wise as was his government, we need not much wonder that some attempts were made by the desperate partisans of heterodoxy to dethrone or assassinate him. The last which history mentions was headed by one Argimund, governor of Carpetania. This criminal was punished with greater severity than the preceding: his right hand was first cut off; and, after being paraded on the back of an ass through the streets of Toledo, he was beheaded. In his last illness this king was devout enough, according to St. Isidore, the contemporary bishop

of Seville, to make a public confession of his sins, in conformity with the practice of the primitive church. He died in 601.*

Of the eleven succeeding sovereigns little is known, and that little is not very interesting. In general their reigns were brief, and their actions unimportant; so that we have the less reason to regret the scantiness of our historic materials. **LIUVA**, the eldest son and successor of Recared, gave the most favorable promise of a wise and happy reign; but, ere two years were passed, he was assassinated by the same **WITERIC** whom his father's clemency had pardoned. **601.** **WITERIC** obtained the object of his guilty ambition, but had little reason to congratulate himself on his success. In his wars, too obscure to be noticed, he was uniformly unfortunate;† and in his family he was not more to be envied. In the fourth year of his reign he married his daughter **Ermenberga** to **Theodoric** king of Burgundy; but in about a year that prince, who was not much distinguished either for conjugal fidelity or for delicacy, repudiated her, and restored her to her father after having stripped her of every thing she possessed. Here was insult added to cruelty, for neither of which was the incensed father able to exact revenge. His imbecility, his loose life, and above all his ill success in war, drew on him the contempt of his people: in the seventh year of his reign he was murdered at his own table, and his body buried without honor. **GUNDEMAR**, the next king, was more fortunate in his war-like enterprises. He triumphed over the Basques and the imperialists; but had those triumphs been considerable, more would have been said of them by the writers of the times. He entered into an alliance with the king of Austrasia against the king of Burgundy; but nothing decisive followed. He had one advantage not always enjoyed by the Wisigoth monarchs of Spain,—that of dying a natural death. **SISEBERT**, **612.** whose brows were next adorned with this dangerous diadem, was much superior to his immediate predecessors. His successes over both the Basques and the Imperialists were more signal: they were also more solid, since he reduced and retained several fortresses belonging to the latter; those which lay near the straits of Gibraltar were lost to them for ever. But he deserves greater praise for his humanity than for his valor or skill in war. He wept over the wounds of his prisoners; and, with his own money, often redeemed such as

* Authorities nearly the same as before quoted. In one of these conspiracies **Witeric**, a noble Goth, was implicated: he was to assassinate the king, but was unable to draw his dagger, which was miraculously fixed in the sheath. He confessed the plot, and was pardoned.

† One of his generals did take a small fortress from the Greeks,—the only trophy of his reign.

were made by his soldiers. Whenever a town was sacked, he ordered it to be proclaimed that the enemies who, even when the contest was hopeless, should reach his quarters and claim his protection, should escape with both life and liberty. Such an expedient is indicative enough both of his own admirable clemency, and of the bloodthirsty disposition of his Goths, who were accustomed indiscriminately to massacre every living thing that fell in their way. Strange that this prince, who was thus indulgent to his very enemies, should so rigorously have persecuted his Jewish subjects! He published an edict which left them no alternative but baptism or scourges and utter destitution. Eighty thousand of the poor wretches submitted to the rite; a great number escaped into France; such as remained and were obstinate in their faith were treated with great cruelty. At length, however, the church wisely desisted from this execrable policy: it was discovered that while the new converts called on Christ with their lips, their hearts might blaspheme him; and that the interests of the true religion were poorly promoted by violence and hypocrisy. It was accordingly ordained by the fourth council of Toledo, that the holy sacraments should no longer be administered to such as were unwilling to receive them. In other respects Sisebert was a wise and patriotic monarch. The construction of a fleet for the purpose not only of the country's defence, but of making his subjects acquainted with maritime affairs, was, in a Gothic king, a magnificent thought. He is also believed to have surrounded the city of Evora with fortifications.

621. He died in 621.* His son, RECARDED II., reigned only three months. SWINTILA, the next in succession, is represented as a strange compound of great and vicious qualities; at least his life exhibited, at two different periods, a strange contrast with itself. On the one side he had the glory of effecting what his predecessors had attempted in vain,—he reduced all the fortresses held by the imperialists, and for ever ended their influence in the Peninsula: he was thus the first Gothic monarch of *all* Spain. With equal success did he quell the commotions of the Basques, to arrest whose future ravages he built a town and fortress, now called Olite. Nor was his reputation as a monarch inferior to his fame as a warrior. The rigor with which he punished the guilty, and the tender regard which he testified towards the poor, won the hearts of his people. But his virtues appear to have been unfitted for prosperity; they flourished in the iron labors of the camp, but were blighted amidst the soft indulgence of the

* Sisebert was a scholar: some of his letters remain.

palace. His triumphs changed him; the hours which he had formerly devoted to the happiness of his people were now passed in sensuality: as he grew selfish—and selfishness is inseparable from sensual gratifications—he became cruel; instead of being everywhere hailed as the father of the poor, he was everywhere cursed as their tyrant. His aversion to public business increased with his passion for dissipation: at length he abandoned it altogether to his wife and brother, whose oppressions were even heavier than his own. What still more exasperated the Goths, so tenacious of their original equality, and so jealous of their sovereign's prerogatives, was his conferring on his son Recared* the title of king, and thereby laying the foundation of hereditary monarchy. Seeing the universal dissatisfaction inspired by this once popular ruler, one Sisenand, a noble Goth, planned his deposition, and wrote to Dagobert king of France for troops to aid him in his designs. The offer of a golden font of great value, which Thorismund had received from the imperial general Ætius, as a reward for his own and his father's services in the great battle against Attila, caused the Franks to arm. Scarcely, however, had two of Dagobert's generals arrived with their forces at Saragossa, than the Goths themselves deposed their king, 631. and proclaimed SISENAND the successor. In conformity with the compact, the golden font was delivered to the generals of the Franks; but the Goths, unwilling that so precious a treasure, and one too so honorable to their valor, should leave the kingdom, intercepted it, and brought it back to Toledo. In lieu of it the Gothic king presented to his royal ally a large sum of money, which was expended on the magnificent church of St. Denis. Though Sisenand was thus in possession of the great object of his ambition, he well knew that the same popular favor which had bestowed it on him might, with characteristic fickleness, at any time deprive him of it. He knew, too, that Swintila, who had retired to private life, had some partisans remaining. To secure his authority he had recourse to a novel expedient; he convoked the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his realm, ostensibly to reform some clerical abuses, but, in reality, to procure his own recognition by that imposing body: accordingly, the fourth council of Toledo (assembled in 633), after passing some canons for the better discipline of the church, entered fully into his views by excommunicating

* According to Isidorus Pacensis (Isidore of Beja, or of Badajoz), Recared reigned three months after his father's deposition:—"Recharedo denique huic Siseberti succedente in solio, dum tres per menses solummodum regnat hujus vite brevitatis nihil dignum prestat, æra 630." This prince is, however, not ranked among the kings of Spain by many historians of the country.

Swintila, the wife, children, and brother of that monarch; by depriving all of their possessions, and subjecting them to the power of Sisenand. It is difficult to account for such severity, and not less so for the authority thus assumed by the fathers of the council. They appear to have stood in great fear of Sisenand, or to have been gained by him. One of their regulations is curious; it was to the effect that thenceforward no election of a king made during popular commotions should be valid; that such election could only be made by the bishops and nobles of the realm duly assembled.* It was, doubtless, intended as a warning to all who should in future imitate the conduct of the ruling king, whose elevation clearly fell within the scope of their reprobation. On the death of this monarch

636. the choice of the Goths fell on CHINTILA, who, in conformity with the regulation just mentioned, convoked the prelates at Toledo to confirm his election. These fathers issued another decree, that in future no one should be nominated as king who was not of noble blood and of Gothic descent; all candidates, too, were subjected to excommunication who should endeavor to attain their end by unlawful means. In another council (the sixth of Toledo), held about eighteen months afterwards, the third canon obliged all future kings to swear, not only that they would not suffer the exercise of any other religion than the Catholic, but that they would rigorously enforce the laws against all dissidents, especially "that accursed people," the Jews.† From the mild disposition of Chintila, it may be doubted whether he approved this odious law.

640. His successor, TULGA, who was elected in 640, was also a model of the peaceful virtues. His easiness of disposition, however, and his youth, appear to have been fatal to internal peace. The bold and the licentious are said to have broken the laws with perfect impunity. His fate is doubtful. While some writers incline to the opinion that he died peaceably in Toledo in little more than two years from his accession, others, probably with more reason, assert, that seeing his incompetency to rule so fierce a people, some of the leading nobles deposed and exiled him to a monastery, to make way for the aged and inflexible CHINDASWIND, who ascended the throne in 642. This monarch held the reins of government with a firm hand; he quelled tumults on every

* Concilium Toletanum, can. 2. et 6. in the collection of Aguirre, tom. ii.

† Concilium Toletanum, vi. can. 3. 14. et 16. in eadem collectione. This intolerance is censured both by St. Isidore and by the fourth council of Toledo (canon 57.). Hear the saint's words:—"Initio regni sui Judeos ad fidem Christianam permovens emulationem quidem habuit, sed non secundum scientiam: potestate enim compulsi quas provocare fidei ratione oportuit." The sentiment would do honor to more enlightened ages.

side, and caused the laws to be respected. Not less successful were his efforts to suppress the conspiracies formed against him by a party which had refused to acknowledge him. To deter his restless nobles from their favorite inclination to treason, he is said, on authority however somewhat disputable, to have punished with peculiar severity even the relations and descendants of such as were known to have plotted against the former sovereigns. Of the fear inspired by his rigor, no better proof could be adduced than the fact that, in opposition to the custom and wishes of the Goths, he associated with him in the royal dignity his son RECESWIND, and that on his death in 653* that prince remained in secure possession of the crown. Not that no efforts were made to snatch it from this prince's brow. The Gothic nobles could not see with much complacency any advance towards the hereditary transmission of a dignity which each might hope one day to possess. Froys, one of their number, collected an army of Basques or Navarrese, whose ancestors had some time before forsaken Biscay for the south of Gaul, with whom he crossed the Pyrenees, to vindicate the ancient right of election, and at the same time to win the throne for himself. His defeat and death by his rival struck a salutary terror into other rebels, though their submission subsequently was the effect rather of the moderation than of the arms of Receswind. The piety of this monarch made him the favorite of the church; the readiness with which he sanctioned a law that the wealth acquired by future kings should be transmitted, not to their children or heirs, but to their successors, rendered him no less that of the nation. It was hoped that no king would be disposed to lay heavy burdens on the people, when he should find that he had only a life-interest in the revenues of his office; that as he was prohibited from amassing fortunes for his heirs, he would have no temptation to extortion. Receswind died, at an advanced age, in 672.†

* Chindaswind is best known in Spain for his dispatching a bishop to Rome, to request from St. Martin a complete copy of St. Gregory's *Morals*, and for the miraculous manner in which the MS. was found. See Appendix D.

† St. Isidorus, *Historia de Regibus Gothorum*, p. 492, &c. (apud Florez, tom. vi.). The history of this saint ends in 626, in the reign of Sisenand: the author himself survived its termination ten years. *Additio ad Joan. Biclari Chron.* (apud Florez, vi. 424.). *Fredegarius, Chronicon*, No. 30—35. 55. 82, &c. *Cronica de Wulsa*, No. 20—30. Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispania*, tom. ii. Aimonius, *De Gestis Regum Francorum*, lib. iv. cap. 13. 25, &c. Isidorus, *Episcopus Pacensis, Chronicon*, p. 288, &c. (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. viii.). Ximenes, *Rerum in Hispania Gestarum*, lib. ii. c. 18—22. (apud Schottus, *Hisp. Illust.* tom. ii. Saavedra, *Corona Gotica*, cap. 24. Morales, *Cronica General*, tom. ii. lib. xii. fol. 106—162. Ferreras, *Histor. Gen.* part iii. sig. 7. Masdeu, *España*

672. After the death of Receswind, the eyes of the Gothic electors were turned on WAMBA, whose wisdom and virtues were well known to the whole nation.* But this excellent man, who had filled some of the most honorable posts in the monarchy, and had found little happiness in greatness, was little inclined to accept the proffered dignity. He alleged his advanced age, and his consequent incapacity to undertake duties requiring such labor and activity. Prayers and tears were vainly employed to move him. At length, one of the dukes of the palace placed a poniard at his breast, and bade him choose between the sepulchre and a throne. Such a choice was no longer difficult, and Wamba reigned.

673. If Wamba, as there is reason to believe, had been induced to refuse the crown chiefly from an apprehension of popular levity, his prudent foresight was soon verified by the event.† The Basques revolted, and their example was instantly followed by the inhabitants of Gothic Gaul. The evil was increased by the bigotry of the king; he issued a decree, banishing all Jews who refused to be baptized: these exasperated exiles flocked to Nîmes, whose count, Hilderic, had drawn many nobles and prelates into the rebellion. The cause of the monarch appeared hopeless, when duke Paul, a Greek by nation, and consequently, wily and unprincipled, who had been dispatched, at the head of an army, to suppress the commotion beyond the Pyrenees, prevailed on his troops to join the malcontents, and on several important fortresses to open their gates to him. Even Barcelona and Narbonne were detached from their fidelity to the king.

Goda, part x. p. 168—190. Bouges, *Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de la Ville et Diocèse de Carcassonne*, première partie, p. 39—41.

* As this was the age of miracles, we need not be surprised that one is recorded relating to this celebrated prince. His elevation is said by some chroniclers to have been the work of Heaven. The legend is, that when St. Leo, in compliance with the earnest wishes of the Goths, prayed that they might be divinely directed in the choice they were about to make, he was admonished that they must seek a laborer who resided in the west, named Wamba, and whom they must crown. Soldiers were accordingly dispatched in search of the man. They found him at his plow, on the confines of Portugal, and acquainted him with his elevation. Considering their solemnity as a studied joke, he replied, that they would, doubtless, make him a king when the pole which he held in his hand should again flourish. To the astonishment of all present, the reply was scarcely returned when the dry wood was clothed with verdure. Of course they took him away by force to Toledo, and there crowned him.

This fable is not very cunningly devised. St. Leo was not pope until 681; and Wamba was, beyond all doubt, of noble descent.

† Knowing the unsteadiness of the multitude, Wamba insisted that some time should be allowed him to go to Toledo to be crowned. He, doubtless, hoped that the electors would change in favor of some other candidate: the people, however, were consistent; Wamba was crowned in nineteen days after his forcible proclamation.

But though Wamba was so strongly attached to the tranquil scenes of retired private life, he was eminently fitted for the duties of royalty; he was fully equal to the difficulties of his new situation. With inconceivable rapidity he first proceeded to reduce the northern mountaineers, whom he soon compelled to implore his mercy. He was now consequently at liberty to march against a more formidable enemy.

In the mean time the artful Greek had prevailed on the Goths of Gaul to proclaim him king. By representing Wamba as disgusted with the cares of the sceptre, and anxious to return to private life; by exaggerating the number and force of the rebels on various parts of the frontiers; by loudly asserting the inutility of any efforts to restore them by the lawful ruler; and, above all, by flattering alike the prejudices and passions of the people, and by an union of interests with some powerful leaders, (among whom the most noted was Ranosind, governor of the Tarraconensian province,) the crown of Recared* had been placed on his head in the Gallo-Gothic capitol of Narbonne. This intelligence flew to the camp of Wamba, in Cantabria, and was speedily followed by a letter, too extraordinary to be omitted:—

“In the name of the Lord: Flavius Paulus, king of the east, to Wamba, king of the south.

“Tell me, warrior; tell me, lord of woods and friend of rocks! hast thou ever run through the sharp rocks of uninhabitable mountains? Hast thou ever, like the strongest lion, broken down, with thy breast, the thickets and trees of the forest? Hast thou ever outstripped the deer in speed, or out-leaped the stag, or subdued the devouring bears? Hast thou ever triumphed over the venom of vipers and serpents? If thou hast done all this, hasten unto us, that we may be abundantly regaled with the notes of the nightingale. Wherefore, thou wonderful man, whose courage rises with the occasion, come down to the defiles of the Pyrenees. There thou wilt find the great oppopambeum, whom thou mayest engage without dishonor.”†

This whimsical letter, which appears to have been intended to ridicule both the power and the rural predilections of Wamba, was evidently the production of a vain-glorious man, —of one whom sudden elevation had intoxicated, and who was,

* A magnificent one had been presented by king Recared to Felix, the saint and martyr of Gerona.

† *Edomuxisti*, vomited, is the reading of the original. As this would make sheer nonsense, it is probable that the true reading must have been *edomuxisti*, thou hast subdued, or triumphed over.

‡ See Appendix E.

therefore, the less to be dreaded. The prudent Wamba, after the successful issue of the Cantabrian war, marched towards Catalonia. On the confines of that province, he divided his forces into three considerable bodies; of which, while one was conveyed by sea, the other two proceeded towards the Pyrenees by two different routes. Barcelona submitted almost without resistance; Gerona offered none; two of his generals speedily reduced the fortress of Clausina, on the site of the modern Clusas, and made Hilderic and Ranosind prisoners. The victorious king now marched on Narbonne, in the hope of ending the war by the reduction of that capital, and the seizure of the rebel. But Paul, whose self-confidence seemed to have greatly abated, had precipitately retired to Nismes, leaving the defence of Narbonne to duke Wittimir. That general endeavored to show himself worthy of the trust reposed in him: at his instigation the citizens for some time made a vigorous resistance, and from the top of their walls insulted the royal troops. The indignation of the latter was instantly and terribly roused: in one overpowering mass they rushed towards the walls, which they almost immediately scaled. The combat was now renewed in the city, and was maintained, for a short time, with fury. But no valor, however great, could avail the vanquished, who fell under the merciless sword of the Goths. When hope no longer remained, Wittimir retreated to the church, and sought a sanctuary behind the altar of the Virgin. He was pursued, and as even then he showed some inclination to resist, a soldier seized a tablet of great weight, and prepared to crush him with it. He then surrendered, and, with his companions, was publicly scourged as a rebel.

The reduction of Narbonne was followed by that of other strong places in the neighborhood. No time was now lost in marching against Nismes, where Paul was intrenched with his bravest troops. The assault was delivered with fury, and was as furiously repelled. During a whole day, the Goths made no impression on the place, and when the darkness of night suspended the desperate struggle, they were still further depressed by the report that a considerable body of German and Frank auxiliaries were advancing to the aid of the rebels. That report was a fabrication of the artful Paul; but for a time it answered his purpose. He was soon, however, confounded in his turn by the arrival of 10,000 fresh troops, dispatched by Wamba, who was approaching the scene of strife. At the dawn of the following morning, he beheld, from the top of a tower, the increased force of the enemy, drawn up for a new and more vigorous assault. But Paul was no coward: he resolved to withstand the coming onset as became one who had

staked every thing on empire. Knowing that something must be done to relieve the sudden despondency of his followers, he hastily assembled them, and harangued with his characteristic impudence: "Our enemies have been successful. Old Wamba has triumphed, but only where he found little or no resistance. He finds that he has now to do with hard walls, and with hearts still harder than walls, and he accordingly begins to display his natural cowardice.* He has brought up his whole force to invest us; destroy that handful of men in the plain below, and ye may march unopposed from the Rhone to the Bætis." His discourse somewhat relieved them, though he could not prevail on them to sally forth, and fight on the plain. The contest was for some time vigorously maintained from the fortifications; but the arrows and other missiles of the assailants were so destructive, that the ranks of the besieged were fearfully thinned. "Those Goths are no cowards, Paul!" exclaimed they, as they cast their reproachful looks on one who had sacrificed them to his selfish ambition. "Come, soldiers!" cried the general of Wamba, after the combat had continued during five hours, without intermission,—“come, soldiers! bring fire and scaling-ladders: the sun is high, and shameful will it be for us, if we do not enter the fortress to-day!" Instantly the gates were burnt, and the walls surmounted: the struggle on the summit was terrible, but short: it was renewed in the streets, but the sword of the Goths still pursued its destructive career. Such of the defenders as could escape its edge, fled to the amphitheatre, where they hoped to make a stand until conditions could be obtained. But they had now to contend with a portion of the incensed inhabitants, who, accusing them as the cause of their misfortunes, and

* St. Julian is very angry to hear his nation stigmatized as cowardly. In a declamation against "the tyrant of Gaul," he proves that he has as much horror for every thing French, as more modern writers of his nation. "Oh, France!" he exultingly exclaims, on the reduction of Paul, "where is the liberty of which thou boastest so arrogantly? Where the contemptuous terms by which thou didst lower our men below thine own women?" He charges the country with universal deceit, blasphemy, heresy, whoredom, murder, and every possible crime that human nature can commit. She is "the mother of infidelity,—richly deserving the reputation of infamy."—"All her actions spring from cruelty and pollution." There was "conspiracy in her assemblies and councils, perfidy in her transactions, obscenity in her deeds, deceit in her intercourse, corruption in her tribunals, and, what is worse than all, Judaism and blasphemy in her religion." The good bishop, however, consoles himself with the reflection that the country was on the brink of inevitable perdition.—Hist. Wamb. No. 5. p. 534, &c. (apud Flores, España Sagrada, tom. vi.)

Masdeu chuckles over these and other sentences. He has taken care to give the whole tirade (insultatio) in his appendix: he, no doubt, regretted his inability to insert the history also.

A greater man than Masdeu is no less delighted in transcribing these passages.—See Southey's Roderic, vol. i. note 12. p. 289.

doubtless eager at the same time to win the favor of Wamba, pursued and massacred them. Paul every moment expected death; but he was carefully spared by the indignant populace, who, however, wreaked their vengeance on his relatives. One of these was pierced before his eyes, another at his side, as he stood on the steps of the amphitheatre. As the day began to close, he threw off his royal apparel, and, with a few of his companions, sought refuge in the vaults of that structure. There he passed a night, more bitter, perhaps, than death would have been. The following morning, the inhabitants resolving to throw themselves on the clemency of the victor, sent their bishop Argabaud to meet him. The prelate, in his pontifical robes, found the monarch about four miles from the city; and, by a touching address, obtained a promise that no further blood should be spilt. Wamba now entered triumphant into Nismes, by the pardoned inhabitants of which, he was received with unfeigned gratitude. By his command, Paul, with the other leading rebels, was dragged by the hair of the head, from the vaults of the amphitheatre, and consigned to a prison to await the doom that was to be awarded him. Having buried the dead, given liberty to many captives, and endeavored, with some success, to repair the evils which the city had sustained, the conqueror ordered his crest-fallen rival to be brought before his tribunal. The behavior of the latter was now as humble, as it had previously been haughty. Being asked by his sovereign what reason he had to rebel; whether he had ever received any just cause of offence; he acknowledged that he had received only benefits at the hands of the king, and that his ambition alone had impelled him to ingratitude and treason. He then prostrated himself at the victor's feet, and begged that his life might be spared. "Thy life," replied the king, "and those of thy companions, I have promised to spare, though ye deserve not the indulgence." The judges of the tribunal voted for the death of the most guilty; but the merciful monarch satisfied himself with condemning them to wear shaven crowns, and to a religious confinement within the walls of Toledo.

Having pacified the whole of Gothic Gaul; having deposed some governors, and created others; having repaired the towns which had been injured, and banished the Jews; Wamba returned to his capital. His entrance into that city was triumphant. Before him passed the rebels, their chins and heads shaved, their feet bare, and their bodies covered with vestments of camel's or goat's hair. Paul was conspicuous among the rest by the leathern crown which adorned his brows—fit emblem of his vain and fleeting sovereignty. The

jeers of the populace, however, and his condemnation to perpetual confinement, were no great punishments for the miseries of which he had been the cause.*

After those glorious exploits, Wamba applied his undivided cares to the interests of his subjects. By cultivating the arts of peace, by bettering the temporal condition of the people, by encouraging the clergy to greater diligence, by strengthening the walls of Toledo, and by causing justice to be administered in mercy, he secured the confidence of his kingdom. The bases of his character seem to have been incorruptible integrity, an ardent zeal for his country's good, and a rare union of moderation with firmness. He was also unrivalled for prudence: he provided for every thing. Foreseeing the enterprises to which the fanatic ambition of the Saracens would inevitably impel them, he prepared a fleet for the defence of the coast. He had soon to congratulate himself on his prophetic caution. About the year 677, a fleet of 170 barks, filled with these barbarians, passed the straits of Gibraltar, and attempted to land: they were assailed, dispersed, or taken by the ships of the king, whose vigor long kept the Mussulmans in awe. Though masters of nearly all northern Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, they wisely respected for many years the territories of the Goths. Had Wamba been succeeded by monarchs of equal prudence and activity, the scourge of Saracenic domination, the greatest, perhaps, that ever afflicted any people, would probably have been for ever averted from Spain.

But neither the virtues nor the abilities of Wamba, it is said, could exempt him from the fate common to so many of the Wisigoth kings,—from domestic treason. If that fate, however, be common in kind, it differs widely in manner, in the present instance. On Sunday, October 14, 680, the king fell into a state of insensibility, and seemed to be deprived of life. As no doubt appeared to be entertained by his servants that he was dying; in conformity with the custom of his times, his head was hastily shaven, and he was enveloped in a penitential habit; in other words, he was transformed from a layman into a member of the monastic profession. Though he recovered in about twenty-four hours, his doom was everlastingly sealed: though his profession had been involuntary, and even forced on him while in a lifeless state, the obligation was not the less imperative. Disqualified thus strangely from enjoying the honors and from participating in the duties of public life, he retired to the monastery

* The same authorities chiefly, with the *Historia de Wamba* by St. Julian (apud Florez, vi. 534, &c.).

of Pampliega, near Burgos, where he passed the remainder of his days.*

Such are the facts of this strange occurrence. The only difficulty is to determine whether the suspension of the vital powers in Wamba was a natural or a previously-contrived event.

Two chroniclers of the ninth century (Sebastian of Salamanca, and the anonymous monk of Albelda) assert that the indisposition or trance of Wamba, and his consequent tonsure, were the work of Ervigius, a nephew of king Chindaswind, who had long aspired to the throne. He administered, say they, a draught to the monarch, which he considered potent enough to destroy reason, if not life itself; and in the lethargy which followed, the monastic penitence was imposed; whether by his contrivance, or through the piety of the royal attendants, is doubtful. But what reliance is to be placed on the testimony of these chroniclers, who wrote so long after the event? Not a hint is given of this treason in the work of the contemporary prelate St. Julian, nor in the acts of the twelfth council of Toledo, assembled after the retirement of Wamba, nor in the epitome of Isidore of Badajoz, who wrote about seventy years after the time, nor in the continuator of the abbot of Valelara; in short, there is no *contemporary* authority whatever for fixing so deep a stain on the character of Ervigius. On the contrary, the three instruments which he produced on his accession were acknowledged to be authentic: the first, which was signed by the great officers of the palace, stated the fact of the tonsure and habit having been imposed; the second, which was signed by Wamba himself, contained his renunciation of the crown in favor of Ervigius; and the third, was an injunction addressed by that monarch to the metropolitan of Toledo to proceed with the coronation of his appointed successor.

On the other hand, it may be contended with some appearance of reason, that the silence of St. Julian and of the fathers of the council is sufficiently explicable: neither would wish to draw on themselves the vengeance of the reigning king, by giving utterance to their suspicions. And as to the three instruments so carefully adduced, does not that very care imply an apprehension on the part of him who took it that his proceedings would be narrowly watched, his motives, perhaps, called in question? Would innocence, which, like charity, never judges harshly, or suspects, have taken such pains to furnish evidence so connected and elaborate? Undue

* See Appendix F.

anxiety has often shot beyond its mark. Then the subsequent conduct of Ervigius, which, as we shall soon see, is censurable for something worse than imprudence, must naturally confirm the suspicions of such as incline to the opinion of his guilt.

On such a subject, however, where certainty can never be expected, the wise will hesitate to decide, and the good to condemn. The character of the dead, even more than that of the living, should be held sacred, when unimpeached by indisputable testimony.*

Having summoned a council at Toledo, the twelfth 680. held in that city, Ervigius had little difficulty in persuading the fathers to acknowledge the authenticity of the three instruments he produced; and, consequently, his claim to the Visigothic crown. They even showed a blind devotion to his will in other respects, not very honorable to their characters, nor respectful to the memory of an excellent prince. Seeing the aversion of the Goths to military service,—for averse they had long been,—the new king was anxious to procure their favor by the abolition of a salutary law made by Wamba, which punished with infamy every noble who, in time of war, should neglect to join the army of the monarch: accordingly, that law was abrogated by the eighth canon, which restored to the fullest enjoyment of their rights all whom it had affected. In another canon, two new bishoprics which Wamba had formed were abolished, and in terms bordering on insult towards their founder. But the worst of all was the abrogation of the amendment which Chindaswind had introduced into

* St. Julian, *Historia Regis Wambæ*. This work, though declamatory, is valuable; as containing by far the best account of the rebellion of duke Paul, its chief subject. Isidorus, *Pacensis Epit. era 721—723. Chronica Reg. Wisigothorum* (Wusa), No. 31. This chronicle has been ascribed to St. Julian, probably without foundation. *Additio ad Joan. Biclarij. p. 417. Chronica Albeldensis*, No. 43, &c. Sebastianus *Salmanticensis, Chronicon*, Nos. 2, 3, 4. (The preceding authorities are in the useful work of Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. vi. viii. xiii.) The work of Julian is also to be found in one as useful, and more critical, *Collectio Sanctorum Patrum Ecclesie Toletane* (Julian was bishop of that see), by cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo, to whom the ecclesiastical literature of his country is greatly indebted. Ximenez, *Rerum in Hispania Gestarum*, lib. iii. cap. 1—12. Alonzo el Sabio, *Cronica de España*, part ii. cap. 51, &c. Lucas *Tudensis, Chronicon*, era 704. (Ximenes and Lucas are in Schottus, *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. ii. iv.) See also the acts of the twelfth council of Toledo, in the collection of cardinal Aguirre, canons 1. 4. 7. Bouges, *Histoire Eccles. &c. de Carcassonne*, partie i. p. 41—44.

Mariana, *Historia General de España*, tom. i. lib. vi. cap. xiv., and Ferreras. *Hist. Gen.* part iii. sig. 7. A. D. 680, following the chroniclers of Salamanca and Albelda (which are also copied by don Lucas of Tuy and don Alonzo el Sabio), have no hesitation in taxing Ervigius with the treason: they are followed by most modern historians of the nation. Masdeu (*España Goda*, tom. x. p. 211, &c.) is unwilling to speak out, but he apparently inclines the same way.

the law of religious tonsure, and which humanely declared the obligation imposed by others void, unless the patient afterwards confirmed it.* The second canon, which was too evidently aimed at the secluded king, expressly declared the obligation irrevocable, however or whenever contracted.

683. But, with all his wily contrivances, Ervigius had the mortification to see the bulk of the people still attached to their late sovereign. To make that sovereign appear tyrannical, and to attach to his interests all who now justly suffered for their participation in the rebellion of Paul, he summoned the thirteenth council of Toledo, and requested the assembled prelates to reverse the salutary measure of his predecessor. Accordingly, the first canon restored to their ranks, possessions, and rights, all who had ever taken arms against Wamba; the third remitted all taxes due to the public treasury up to the first year of the present reign. The fourth exhibited the meanness or dependence of the fathers in a clearer light: its tenor was, that in return for the great obligations due by the whole country to so pious and clement a ruler, his wife, sons, daughters, and all his other connexions, were secured after his death in the revenues, dignities, and privileges they now possessed; and no less a doom than excommunication was denounced against all who should attempt to injure them in person or substance.

Even yet Ervigius was apprehensive that, after his exit from the stage of royalty, the partisans of Wamba would place some favorite on it; that his memory would be blackened, and the lustre of his house obscured, by a revengeful successor. To avert this dreaded result, he had recourse to a final and sufficiently plausible expedient. He sent for Egica, the brother of Wamba; and offered that prince the hand of his daughter, with the succession to the throne, on the condition that the latter would swear to protect his family when he should be no more. The proposal was eagerly accepted: the marriage was solemnized; and, on the death of Ervigius, the crown of the Goths fell on the brows of the son-in-law.†

Gratitude is not always the virtue of princes. Scarcely was 687. EGICA in possession of the envied dignity, than he showed his hostility to the memory of his benefactor. Resolving to use the same weapons as had been employed by that king, he 688. convoked the fifteenth‡ council of Toledo to aid his views of vengeance: he represented to the fathers the oath

* See Appendix F; also that portion of the next chapter which treats of the religion of the Goths.

† Authorities the same chiefly as those last quoted.

‡ The *fourteenth* had been assembled in 684, to condemn the errors of the Monothelites.

which he had taken to protect the family of Ervigius, and how difficult it was to be observed amidst the general complaints of his people against the rapacity of that family. Some nobles, he said, complained of having been arbitrarily deprived of their rank, others of their possessions. "I must be just," he added: "if I have sworn to protect this family, I have taken another oath still more important,—that of being the protector of all my subjects." In fact, he exhibited the two oaths as irreconcilable with each other, and wished to know in what manner he should best satisfy his conscience, and best discharge his conflicting duties. The supple ecclesiastics, who had long lost sight of the independence of their vocation, and were become the mere ministers of the monarch, (in fact, the bishops were, *ex officio*, ministers of the crown, in a state which has been truly called theocratic,) immediately declared that an unjust oath was not binding; and that the king might punish or reward any of his subjects, the relatives of Ervigius among the rest, as justice or equity dictated. In consequence of this decree, Egica is said to have punished with severity the enemies of Wamba and his house,—in other words, the partisans of Ervigius;—and even to have repudiated his wife; thus dissolving the only remaining bond which connected him with the rival family. These vindictive proceedings on the part of Egica appear to prove, not, indeed, the treason of Ervigius against Wamba, but certainly that suspicion of such treason lurked in his mind.

In the sixth year of his reign Egica was afflicted with a rebellion, which spread into Gothic Gaul, and the object of which was to deprive him both of sceptre and of life. 692. Its head was Sisebert, archbishop of Toledo; a partisan, if not a relative, of the late monarch. Both he, however, and the other authors, were discovered: the prelate was left at the disposal of a national council (the sixteenth of Toledo), which deposed and excommunicated him; the latter doom being also inflicted on all his adherents, and on all who should in future imitate so scandalous an example. The king had also three engagements with the Franks—probably, connected with the conspiracy of Sisebert; but in none did he obtain any advantage.* A more formidable conspiracy was discovered the following year. Notwithstanding the severity of the penal laws against their nation, many Jews, though outwardly Christians,

* Mariana (tom. i. lib. vi. cap. 16.) says the Goths were thrice worsted:—"Tres veces fueron desbaratados los Godos." There is not a word of defeat either in the Spanish or French contemporary authorities. But this Jesuit abounds with inaccuracies: his work is very undeserving the reputation it enjoys, or rather *has* enjoyed, for it is fast falling into oblivion. They who praise it have not had the opportunities of estimating its true character.

were retained in the Peninsula by the attractions of a lucrative commerce: but their souls groaned within them under the oppressions they were made to endure; and they were naturally eager to engage in any undertaking which promised them toleration and revenge. On the present occasion they were said to have secretly conspired with their brethren of Africa; perhaps, too, with the Saracens, on whose arms they had long prayed for success. To avert the threatened explosion, the king convened the seventeenth council of Toledo, which decreed severe penalties against the guilty. The eighth canon (*de Judæorum damnatione*) not only reduced to perpetual slavery all the baptized Jews—and Spain had long suffered no other—who relapsed, or who conspired against the state, but ordered that, at seven years of age, their children should be taken from them, and educated under the direction of approved Christians.

In 697 this king, whose anxiety for the perpetuation of the sovereign power in his family was equal to that of his predecessors, associated with him his son Witiza, and caused that prince to be recognized as his successor. Witiza, to whom Galicia was confided, established his court at Tuy; and thenceforth, to the death of Egica, the coins of the kingdom bore two royal heads, with the motto *Concordia Regni*. The father died at Toledo in 701, leaving behind him a doubtful reputation. By some authors he is represented as a patriotic, by others as a tyrannical monarch: the justice of the description seems, in the present, as in most other cases, to rest with those who espouse the darker side of human nature.*

Of Witiza we know little that is certain, but much that is apocryphal. Over his character, his actions, and even his death, there rests a cloud of uncertainty which will probably never be removed. It is, however, agreed, that in the beginning of his reign he evinced many great qualities; that he redressed many grievances inflicted by his father; that he restored their possessions and liberty to many who had been unjustly deprived of both; and that he remitted the heavy arrears of taxes due at his accession,—nay, that, to

* Isidorus Pacensis, *Chronicon*, æra 726—739. *Chronicon Albeldense*, No. 44, &c. Sebastianas Salmant. *Chronicon*, No. 5. (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. viii. 13.). Ximenes, *Rerum in Hispania Gestarum*, lib. iii. cap. xiv. Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon*, æra 725—739. (apud Schottum, tom. ii. iv.) Alonso el Sabio, *Chronicon*, part ii. cap. 53. Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ*; *Concilia Toletana*, 15, 16, 17.

Some writers, among whom are the respectable names of Florez and Cardinal Lorenzana, fix the death of Egica in 700. Mariana and Masdeu, with better reason, give 701. The difference wholly rests on the interpretation of the Roman numerals in the Visigothic chronicle of Wulsa, No. 34.

prevent the possibility of their being collected, he caused the books in which the names of the defaulters were contained to be publicly burnt. On the other hand, it appears no less true either that the excellent qualities deducible from such acts were associated with others of a very different description, or that his character must soon have changed. We are told that he was addicted to the greatest luxury; that he took many concubines, with whom he lived openly, in defiance of church remonstrances; that in the indulgence of his brutal appetite he spared neither high nor low, neither wife nor maiden; and that, to stifle complaint, he published an edict by which he allowed all his subjects, ecclesiastics no less than laymen, as many concubines as they could obtain.

All this, however startling and improbable, may possibly be true. Though not a word of it is to be found in the continuator of Joannis Biclarensis, nor in the contemporary historian Isidorus Pacensis; the brevity of those writers, who do no more than chronicle, in the most meagre terms, a few of the more striking facts, may perhaps account for the omission. The vices too of Witiza are mentioned by the monk of Moissiac, who wrote about one hundred years after the destruction of Spain, and are alluded to by Sebastian of Salamanca,* who finished his chronicle towards the close of the ninth century. If their only authority was tradition, yet that tradition which ascends so near to the events related, which is universally received, and which contains nothing within itself at variance with reason and probability, may undoubtedly be admitted.

But when we are told that this king carried his vices so far as even to affect with them not only his lay but the great body of his ecclesiastical subjects; that, when the pope remonstrated with him, and even threatened to deprive him of his kingdom if he did not recall his decree, he not only ridiculed the pontifical authority, but swore he would march to Rome to subvert it, and even prohibited his subjects under pain of death from yielding obedience hereafter to the holy see, and from holding any manner of correspondence with it; that his people abandoned every moral and religious duty, faith and conscience being nowhere to be found, and even the external rites of worship disregarded; that, through fear of assassination, he disarmed all his subjects, and destroyed every fortified place in his dominions except Toledo, Leon, and Astorga; and that, as the chastisement of this universal depravity of lascivious priest and impious layman, Heaven soon called in the Moors to subdue the kingdom,—we may well indulge a smile of pity

* "Roderic," says the bishop, "in peccata Wittici Regis sui predecessoris gradus posuit."—In the collections of Sandoval and Flores.

at human credulity. Were such fables, as a judicious writer observes, confined to the history of the Round Table or the Twelve Peers, they might be tolerated; but that they have found entrance into the works of such men as Baronius, Mariana, and other celebrated writers, is sufficiently humiliating to the boasted wisdom of man.* It is almost needless to say, that there is no foundation for such absurdities in ancient writers; we find them for the first time in the monk of Silos, who wrote in the thirteenth century.†

What follows is less improbable in itself, but rests on no better foundation. We are informed that Witiza placed his son Oppas on the episcopal throne of Toledo, conjointly with Sindered; the same see thus exhibiting the novel spectacle of two prelates, openly and without murmur, exercising the same functions, or at least holding the same dignity; that before his father's death, while at his separate court of Tuy in Galicia, he murdered with his own hands Favila duke of Biscay, and put out the eyes of Theodofred duke of Cordova, both sons, we are gravely assured, of king Chindaswind, though that monarch died near sixty years before, at the age of ninety;‡ that he intended the same fate for Pelayo, son of the former, and Roderic, son of the latter, but that both princes escaped, the one to the Cantabrians, the other to the imperialists; that Roderic returned with his Greek allies, defeated and dethroned the tyrant, whose eyes he put out in revenge for the fate of his father; that the victor was saluted king, and the miserable Witiza soon ended his life,—whether naturally or violently, whether at home or in exile, we may gather as we may from the contradictory statement of comparatively recent writers.

Amidst the darkness, however, which covers this period of the national history, it appears certain that the vices of Witiza drew on him the indignation of the Goths, and that he was actually driven into exile by king Roderic. Probably, however, the two princes reigned at the same time, the one at Toledo, the other in Andalusia, until the arms of the latter triumphed, and secured him the undivided possession of the country. By Sebastian of Salamanca the sons of Witiza are

* "Terrible desengaño de la sabiduría de los hombres!" says Masdeu, with becoming contempt. Baronius, however, nowhere says that Witiza threw off the supremacy of the pope.

† Monachi Silensis Chronicon, p. 277. (apud Florez, tom. xvii.). See also Lucas Tudensis, Ximenes, and Alonzo the Wise, or rather the Learned (el Sabio), for of wisdom he had little.

‡ Suppose Chindaswind was as old as sixty on the birth of his youngest son, then would that son be near eighty when put to death or blinded by Witiza. Was that an age to raise the jealousy of the king, who is said to have been thus cruel from a fear lest either of the dukes should dethrone or succeed him? Another account says, that he put Favila to death because he wished to enjoy that prince's wife. Was an octogenarian likely to have a wife young enough to attract so sensual a monarch?

said to have conspired against the new king, "*ob sui patris regno exilium.*" The only difficulty is in reconciling this statement with the superior authority of Isidorus Pacensis, who, instead of condemning Witiza, dismisses him with high praise. If this monarch really deserved the reproaches of posterity; if he were the monster he is represented; if his fate were so tragical; would the bishop, an eye-witness of the events he records, preserve so deep a silence on a subject so momentous? But at this distance of time nothing is left us but conjecture; and the chief actions of Witiza, like those of his more famous successor, must remain for ever veiled from the knowledge of man: all that we can certainly know is, that Roderic ascended the throne of the Goths in 709.*

The circumstances which accompanied the elevation and fall of this prince, who appears to have been a descendant of Chindaswind, are as doubtful as any other events of this dark period. Criticism has long learned to reject the romantic relations of such historians as the archbishop of Toledo, the bishop of Tuy, and the royal chronicler, who lived so many centuries after the events they record, and who blindly followed the distorted or inventive voice of tradition, at a time when a taste for the marvellous was universal among both Christians and Mohammedans. The spirit which delighted in listening to the exaggerated, if not fabulous, exploits of Bernardo del Carpio, of Fernan Gonzalez, and of the mightier Cid; which admitted even the knights of the Round Table and the wonders of Arthur's court as indubitable; nay, which, with full assurance of faith, glowed at the miracles related by Berceo and other monkish writers,† would readily receive the less improbable deeds of Roderic. That there was such a lady as Florinda or la Cava, the daughter of count Julian, governor of the Gothic possessions in Africa; that, during her father's absence, she remained at court, and was seduced by the king; that she acquainted the count with her dishonor, and called for vengeance; that the incensed father leagued with the Moors, whom he had hitherto valiantly opposed, and,

* Isidorus Pacensis, *era* 739—749. Sebastianus Salmanticensis, p. 477. (in Florez, viii. xiii.). Chronicon Albeldense (in eadem, tom. xiii.). Lucas Tudensis, *era* 733. Ximenes, lib. iii. cap. 15, 16. (apud Schottus, *Hisp. Illus.* tom. ii. iv.). Alonso el Sabio, *Cronica*, part ii. cap. 54. Morales, part iii. lib. xii. cap. 65, 66. Mariana, tom. i. lib. vi. cap. xix. Ferreras, part iv. sig. 108. Masdeu, part x. p. 219, &c.

Most Spanish writers of the present day are inclined to reject as fabulous the reported vices of Witiza: one of them, Mayans, endeavors to prove him one of the justest and wisest princes of the Wisigoth race. This is running into an extreme as little to be supported as the other.

The dates of this period have been elaborately fixed by Masdeu's *Cronologia de los Ultimos Reyes Godos*, *Illust.* x. tom. x.

† See book iii. chapter the last.

with their aid, invaded the kingdom;* nay, that Roderic even opened the enchanted tower,† were modest probabilities compared with the miracle of our Lady and the Pillar,‡ with the battles of Covadunga,§ and Clavijo,|| or with the wondrous interposition of don Christ and his blessed mother donna Maria,¶ in the affairs of the faithful. The amour of Roderic with the count's daughter, and its fatal consequences, must be rejected by historic criticism,—not so much that they are at variance with probability, as that they have no authentic foundation in ancient chronicles.**

Throughout this cloud of darkness and of doubt, some events are faintly visible, which may be admitted as facts. It appears certain that Roderic owed his crown to a party which rose against Witiza; that the dethroned monarch was blinded, or driven into exile; that the two sons of Witiza, with their relations count Julian and Oppas the archbishop, still kept alive the embers of civil strife;†† and that, finding they were unable to contend any longer with the victorious king, they resolved to call in the Arabs, with the design, not of delivering the country to those infidels, but of humbling the pride of Roderic, and of replacing him by one of the sons of the late monarch.‡‡

* See Appendix G.

† See Appendix H.

‡ See Appendix concerning the miraculous appearance of the Virgin to the apostle Santiago.

§ See the reign of Pelayo.

|| See the reign of Ramiro I.

¶ See the miracles of St. Millan, and the twenty-one recorded of our Lady, in vol. ii. of Sanchez, *Collection de Poesias Castellanas anteriores al Siglo xv.*

** Mantuana, Pellicer, Masdeu, and Condé reject with contempt this romance of Florinda: the whole story is received as genuine by the credulous Mariana, and the uncritical Ferreras, who follow, without examination, the oft-told tale of preceding historians. The weight both of criticism and of learning is on the side of the former. The opinion of Condé, the recent author of the "*Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*," and the most eminent Arabic scholar of the age, ought to set the subject at rest. No man knows better than he how unsafe it is to follow the Arabic historians as guides, especially when, as in the present case, they lived so long after the transactions they relate.

†† "Scriptor enim Ebn Aleuthia memorie prodidit Julianum, qui (ut nemini later) acceptas a Roderico reje injurias, armis ultum ire decreverat, Arabes ad Hispaniam expugnandum inflammasse."—*Abu Abdalla, Splendor Planetarum*, apud Casiri, ii. 251. His testimony would set the matter at rest, if the writer had lived in the eighth instead of the fourteenth century.

‡‡ Sebastianus Salmanticensis, fol. 47. (in the collection of Sandoval: also in Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. xiii.). "Filii namque Witices immoderata invidia, ob sui patrios regno exilium ducti, et ipsius dominationem Roderici, sua machinantes consilia caliditatis in subversionem regni, ad Africam mittunt: per factores nos vocant Sarracenos, eosque adfectos navigio Hispaniam inducunt." It must, however, be observed, that the reading in Florez, p. 478, is somewhat different.—*Chron. Albid.* (in Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. xiii. p. 449.) Additio ad Joan. Biclá. p. 430. (apud Florez, tom. vi.) Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi*, iii. 70. (in the *Hispania Illustrata* of Schottus, tom. iv.). Rod. Ximenes, *Rerum in Hispania*

The generals of the caliph had long cast a greedy eye on the rich provinces of the Peninsula; and their joy was extreme on learning the deadly divisions of the Goths, and on receiving so unexpected an invitation to interfere between them. The emir Muza ben Nozeir, on whom the caliph Abdelmelic ben Meruan had conferred the command of the troops destined to finish the subjugation of the western provinces of Africa, and who, for his great exploits, had been confirmed in his authority by the succeeding caliph, Walid Abul Abbas, was the general to whom the party of Witiza applied for aid. Whether this application was made by count Julian or by any other enemy of Roderic, certain conditions were doubtless stipulated by the Saracen previous to embarking in an enterprise of great magnitude and of some danger. Though in less than a century the standard of the prophet had been taught to wave from the Indus to the Atlantic, though Muza himself had met with the most brilliant success in Mauritania, he had found his career of conquest arrested by Tangier, Arzila, and Ceuta, three insulated fortresses which still held for the Goths; and he might justly dread the possibility at least of the two parties combining to free the Christian soil of Spain from the foot of the misbeliever. What those conditions were, it is now vain to inquire; that they involved the subjugation or possession of the country by the Arabs is too monstrous to be supposed; however blinded by the desire of vengeance, none of king Roderic's enemies could ever dream of such a catastrophe. Perhaps the promise of a moderate annual tribute to his allies was all that was exacted from the head of the conspiracy, in the event of success. In more than one national writer we find an intimation that count Julian little expected the horrors which ensued. Nor, indeed, could the issue be foreseen by Muza himself, who acted at first with a degree of caution sufficiently indicative of his sense of the magnitude of the undertaking,—perhaps of his apprehensions for the result. Even when Tangier was put into his hands by the conspirators, he delayed the equipping of a fleet to carry over his followers to the opposite coast, until he had made accurate inquiries into

Gestorum, lib. iii. cap. 18, 19, 20. (apud eundem, tom. ii.). Masdeu, España Árabe, xv. Ilustracion, i. Condé, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España, tom. i. part 1. This is an excellent work, which throws a light wholly new on the history of Mahomedan domination in Spain. It has been spoiled by Monsieur Mariés, "Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal." We would rather hear the Arabian authors speak for themselves—and Condé religiously allows them to do so—than through the medium of a Frenchman.

the condition and resources of the Peninsula, and had procured the caliph's sanction to his project.*

From the representation of his spies the emir found that the chances of success were greater than he had allowed himself to expect. The Goths had wofully degenerated from their ancient valor: habits of settled life, the mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil of Spain, and, more than all, the long continuance of peace (there had been no serious war from the reign of Wamba to the contest between Witiza and Roderic), had enervated the descendants of the first conquerors, and rendered them averse to activity and fearful of danger. The spirit which had delighted in the warlike songs of the Scandinavian bards, which had risen at the exploits of the *vikings*, and luxuriated in scenes of devastation and blood,† had been first humanized by the influence of Christianity, and at length nearly destroyed by the indulgence of social life. So greatly were the martial virtues impaired, that the inhabitants were insensible, not merely to their honor but to their preservation. The frequent descents of pirates on the undefended coasts were regarded with indifference. From the tenor of several laws of the Wisigothic code, we clearly perceive that none were so ungrateful to the people as those which called them to the defence of their country. Such calls were generally vain: in vain did Wamba decree that whenever any district was menaced, all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms should hasten to the field, and that all who refused to obey the summons should be punished,—if a duke, or count, or bishop, or leading noble, by making compensation for the damage done by the enemy; and if of inferior rank, by being degraded to the class of slaves, or at least by being deprived of his social privileges.‡ Not even these dreaded penalties were efficient; for, according to a report made by Ervigius to the twelfth council of Toledo, one half of the whole nation were deprived, for this very cause, of the right of testimony in the judicial courts, and were consequently held infamous; a disqualification which that prince, who aimed at popularity, had the impolicy to remove.§ But this was not all:

* The same authorities as last quoted.

† See Saxo Grammaticus, with the erudite notes of Stephanus, Sorn., 1683, for an animated, though often fabulous, picture of the character, habits, and exploits of the followers of Odin. The less learned reader may consult Depping's "*Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*," 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1826; a book which appears to have obtained less attention in this country than the subject deserves. But these are not the days—in England at least—when learning and research command notice.

‡ *Foriudicium*, lex 8. tit. 2. lib. iii.

§ *Concilium Toletanum* xii. cap. 7 See also the reigns of Wamba and Ervigius.

two numerous classes of the people had long been hostile to the sway of the Wisigothic kings; the Jews, against whom such intolerable laws had been passed, and the slaves, whose condition was so abject.* The Arians too still constituted a rancorous if not numerous class. To both, the annihilation of a detestable government appeared the greatest of blessings; perhaps, too, the highest of duties.†

No sooner was Muza satisfied that the Gothic monarchy, however splendid in its outward appearance, was all rottenness within, than he hastened his preparations. He 710. was stimulated, too, by the amazing fertility of the soil, the genial climate, and the reputed wealth of the country. Nor was the caliph less eager to add another to the vast regions which owned his temporal no less than his spiritual sway. Confiding in the zeal and valor of his general, and still more, perhaps, in the declaration of the prophet that the true faith should be extended to the utmost limits of the West, he bade the expedition depart and prosper. But the prudent emir, notwithstanding the favorable information he had received, was still unwilling to hazard his past fame by heading the expedition, nor would he expose the great body of his troops to possible annihilation. From the port of Ceuta he dispatched a chosen body of 1500 horse, under the command of his valiant lieutenant Tarik ben Zeyad. This insignificant force could not be intended for conquest, but merely to sound the disposition and courage of the inhabitants, and the fidelity of count Julian and his associates. The invaders landed on the coast of Andalusia, and ravaged the country with perfect impunity: not the slightest opposition was made to their carrying away their plunder and captives. Tarik returned in triumph to Tangier, and was soon afterwards dispatched a second time, at the head of a much more formidable armament, to strike a decisive blow for empire and the faith. Some opposition was attempted to his landing at Algeziras;‡ but it was speedily dissipated. He intrenched himself at the foot of the rock Calpe, the projecting portion of which has since been called

* For the condition of both, see the last chapter of the present book.

† The observations contained in the preceding paragraphs were intended to be inserted in the next chapter, which treats of the government, religion, and condition of the Goths. Such observations should not in general be incorporated with the narrative; but, in the present instance, they are perhaps necessary to account for the events which follow.

‡ The ruins of a castle or fortress, which tradition asserts to have been the residence of count Julian, are still to be seen near Algeziras. Into this castle he is said to have received the Arabs. His ghost is believed by the superstitious peasantry still to hover round the scenes of his earthly guilt, and to brood over the treasures which are concealed—perhaps magically, as father Labat saw nothing of them—in the vaults of that ruined fortress.—Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, chap. 7.

Gibraltar.* This memorable disembarkation took place on the 5th day of the moon Regeb, A. H. 91, which corresponds to April 30th, A. D. 711.†

711. The governor of Andalusia, Theodomir (the Tadmīr of the Arabs), seeing that his handful of troops would be utterly useless in arresting the tide of invasion, hastily demanded succors from Roderic. "A horde of Africans," says the former, "have just landed on our coasts, so strange in appearance that one might take them as much for inhabitants of the sky as of the earth. They suddenly assailed me: I disputed, as well as I could, their entrance into the country; but their numbers and impetuosity have prevailed: in spite of my efforts they are now encamped on our soil. Send me more troops without a moment's delay: collect all who can bear arms. So urgent is the occasion, that I consider even your own presence necessary."‡ Startled at this unexpected danger, the king, who appears even still to have been occupied in reducing the adherents of Witiza's family, immediately dispatched a strong body of cavalry to reinforce his general. Theodomir now advanced towards the enemy, who are said to have been alarmed at first by the number of the Goths, and even to have meditated returning, when Tarik set fire to the vessels which had conveyed them, and thus left them no escape but in their own valor.§ Again were the Christians defeated; troops of Moorish cavalry now scoured the country in all directions, and reduced with incredible rapidity the unprotected towns which they assailed.||

Roderic, like the rest of his nation, was now convinced that the warfare was too serious to be intrusted to a minor hand, or to be met by partial measures. At the head of the whole

* Gibal-Tarik, a mountain of Tarik, which is easily corrupted into Gibraltar:—

"Thou, Calpé, sawest their coming: ancient rock
Renown'd, no longer now shalt thou be call'd
From gods and heroes of the years of yore,
Kronos, or hundred-handed Briareus,
Bacchus or Hercules; but doomed to bear
The name of thy new conqueror."

Southey's Roderic, i. 2.

† See Appendix I.

‡ Fatab-el-Andaluz, a history in MS. by Ibn Cathir, quoted by Depping and Conde. The letter seems to be an Arabic invention.

§ The Nubian geographer says, that one reason why Tarik set fire to his ships was, that his fidelity, perhaps also his courage, was suspected by his followers.—*Clima*, i. part 1.

|| In one of these excursions, Seville is said to have yielded to Tarik. This is improbable. It might, however, be temporarily occupied by the Moorish cavalry, under one of Tarik's lieutenants. In this case, the detachment must have retreated, on the approach of Roderic; to join the in-

force of the Goths, amounting, it is said, to 90,000 men, he advanced against the audacious invaders. He encountered them on the plains of the modern Xeres de la Frontera, about two leagues from Cadiz, and on the western bank of the Guadalete. Enervated as were the Goths, the stake for which they were about to contend was too important not to demand their utmost efforts: besides, as their number at least tripled that of the misbelievers, they might naturally hope for victory. The battle commenced on one of the latter days in July; that is, about three months after the disembarkation at Algeziras. It was contested with equal obstinacy on both sides, from dawn to sunset, so that neither could boast of having gained any advantage.* The following day it was renewed with equal ardor, and with equal want of success, until night separated the combatants. The third day was destined to be decisive. The fight had continued some time, to the disadvantage, we are told, of the Mohammedans; whose ranks were gradually giving way, when Tarik rode among them, showing them that flight could not avail them, destitute as they were of ships to convey them back, and cut off, as most of them would inevitably be, in the retreat. He added, that to rush against the enemy would be less hazardous than flight; that courage was their only resource, Allah their only hope. Bidding them imitate his example, he plunged among the Gothic squadrons, and with his scimitar opened a way before him. The example was not lost: a new ardor seized on the Mohammedans, who rushed after him, sure either of victory or of paradise. Roderic, who had valiantly maintained his post throughout this terrific struggle, was easily known by the ensigns of his dignity,† and was cut down by the weapon of Tarik. Before the king fell, however, Oppas and the sons of Witiza are said either to have abandoned the field, or to have joined the invaders.‡ Treachery, the death of the

* "Acce committitur utrinque, prælum, quod triduo non sine multorum cæde duravit."—*Ali ben Abderahman, Fragment. Hist. Hisp.* (apud Casiri, ii. 326.). The monk of Silos says seven days: "Adeo, quod per septem continuos dies infatigabiliter dimicans," &c. (apud Florez, xvii.—279.).

† The pomp with which Roderic advanced to battle is a favorite subject with his namesake the archbishop, and other writers equally veracious. Besides the car in which he rode, and of which a minute description may be found in the Chivalric Chronicle, part i. cap. 215., he was distinguished by his costly crown, his richly embroidered robes, and the splendid accoutrements of his two mules. These are all inventions.

‡ The Arabic writers make no mention of this treachery; but it is alluded to by Isidorus Pacensis, who, as a contemporary, was much more likely to know the truth than writers who did not live till two or three centuries after this period. Admitting it to be true, we must embrace the hypothesis—no very unnatural one—that the rivals of the king had been compelled outwardly to combine with him against the common danger,

royal Goth, and the renewed vigor of the Mohammedans, were fatal to the already wearied Christians, whose slaughtered bodies soon covered the plain. The head of the king was sent to Muza, and by that emir forwarded to the court at Damascus.*

Thus fell the monarchy of the Goths, after one of the best contested and most sanguinary battles in all history.† That the Christians would have remained victors, had not treachery destroyed them, may reasonably be inferred from their superiority in number. It is impossible, however, to feel much sympathy for their fate: their cruel despotism over their slaves,—their horrible persecution of such as differed from them in religion, must brand the memory of these tyrants and bigots with everlasting infamy. The Wisigothic monarchy was founded in usurpation and blood, and its end was correspondent. "It deserved to fall," says an eloquent writer, "and it did fall."

Success so signal and unexpected astonished Muza, and perhaps displeased him. In his letters, indeed, he affected great satisfaction at it; but the base envy which had taken possession of his heart was but too apparent in his ordering Tarik to remain for a time inactive, on the pretext that the army required reinforcement before new conquests were attempted. His object was now to pass over to the Peninsula, and reap the laurels which another had merited; laurels, indeed, which, in his letter to the caliph, he modestly attributed to himself. The motive for this required suspension of hostilities was seen and despised by Tarik. He saw that, though the Goths were at present dispersed, divided, and unable to resist him, some active chief might soon arise, concentrate their scattered force, and again strike a blow for independence.

but with the design of weakening him by their defection. But why did they not desert the two preceding days? Perhaps they were waiting the issue of the struggle, with the determination of adhering to the victorious party.

* See Appendix K. Isidorus Pacensis, æra 749. *Additio ad Joannis Biclarenensis Chronicon* (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. vi. p. 438.). Sebastianus Salmanticensis (in the Collections of Sandoval and Florez), *Cronicon Albeldense* (apud Florez, xiii. Nos. 7, 8, &c.). *Cronicon Monachi Silencis* (in eadem collectione, xvii. Nos. 16, 17, &c.). Ximenis Rod. lib. iii. cap. 20. Condé by Marlès, *Histoire de la Domination*, &c., tom. i. p. 64—78. See also the Arabic fragments in Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, tom. ii. p. 32—332. These Arabic fragments form a very meager and unsatisfactory narrative, often very confused in their order, and fallacious in their statements; but they contain some useful facts that appear to have escaped the industry of the last learned librarian of the Escorial. Sempere, *Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de la Monarchie Espagnole*, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1896: a very useful little work, though not always impartial in its conclusions.

† See Appendix L.

He assembled his chief officers, read to them the letters of the emir, exposed to them the present posture of affairs, and asked their advice how to act. With one accord, all voted for a vigorous and an immediate prosecution of the war. Count Julian, above all, is said to have demonstrated the necessity of completing the subjugation of the whole country before the vanquished should have time to raise their heads. Tarik, with true Mussulman duplicity, feigned reluctance to disobey the commands of his superior, and seemed to yield only in compliance with the expressed wishes of his officers, and with the urgency of circumstances. He now rode among his troops; praised them for their past valor, and promised them new conquests. To his honor it must be added, that he enjoined moderation.* "Spare the unarmed, and those who do not molest you: reserve your avenging scimitars for those who openly oppose you. Plunder not the husbandman: in return, the spoils of cities won by your valor shall be yours!" Having divided his army into three bodies, he sent one, headed by Mugueiz el Rumi, to besiege Cordova; another, under the orders of Zayd Aben Kesadi, was directed to move on Malaga; with the third, he hastened towards Toledo.*

In the mean time the Goths, or rather some of the more valiant nobles, had acknowledged THEODOMIR as the successor of Roderic; not, perhaps, with the view of offering any successful resistance, but of obtaining more favorable terms from the victors. Roderic was therefore not, strictly speaking, "the last of the Goths." After his fall, the sceptre was swayed, though with sadly diminished splendor, by Theodomir and Athanagild; and though their kingdom, as we shall soon see, was bounded within a narrow space, it was at least as extensive as that of the far-famed Pelayo. For the novel hypothesis here adopted, which makes Theodomir reign in Murcia, while Pelayo and his successors reigned in the Asturias, and which harmonizes the conflicting relations of preceding historians, authorities and reasons will be found, at some length, in the Appendix.†

Mugueiz el Rumi, on his arrival under the walls of Cordova, summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and promised full security for themselves and their possessions, on the condition of a moderate annual tribute. He showed, indeed, much honorable anxiety to spare the city the horrors of an assault. Confiding, however, in the strength of their fortifications, and in the valor of some soldiers who had escaped from the massacre

* The same authorities as those last quoted.

† See Appendix M, where we have attempted to defend our new hypothesis, and consequently to explode those of preceding writers.

of Xeres, the Cordovans refused to obey the summons. When night arrived, the Moorish general is said to have ordered 1000 horsemen, each with a foot-soldier behind, to swim over the Guadalquivir. The passage was no sooner effected* than the infantry marched in profound silence to the walls, which they scaled with little difficulty; and having opened one of the gates, they admitted the cavalry, followed by another detachment from the enemy. The governor with 400 men fled to a church, in which they intrenched themselves, whilst the rest of the inhabitants submitted without opposition. They were treated with clemency; but the unfortunate governor and his party were put to the sword. Aben Kesadi was no less fortunate. Some resistance was vainly attempted at Ecija;† for he soon reduced the inhabitants to the condition of tributaries, and compelled them to give hostages for the punctual payment of the stipulated sum. Malaga and Elvira also received Moorish garrisons; and the victor was thus at liberty to join his troops with those of Tarik under the walls of Toledo.

This opulent city was in the utmost consternation at the disasters which had befallen the country, and at the fate with which itself was menaced. Nothing was heard but exaggerated reports—for fear always exaggerates—of the innumerable hordes of the infidels, of their resistless valor, and the swiftness as well as strength of their horses. The city had but few defenders: some of the nobles had fled; some had joined the banners of Theodomir in Murcia and Granada; others were too hopeless of success to dream of taking up arms. It was evident that an honorable capitulation only could save the place from the horrors consequent on a forcible entry. Deputies were dispatched to Tarik, who received them with kindness, and dictated, among others, the following

* This feat of the horsemen swimming the Guadalquivir is to be found in the fragments of Casiri, and more fully in Condé: the former, however, says 700 horse, without mentioning the infantry *en croupe*. No horse with one rider, much less with two, could pass that broad and rapid river.

† An action of the nuns in the convent of Our Lady of the Valley at Ecija has been highly applauded by devout Catholics. Fearful of ravishment, they disfigured their faces so horribly, that the misbelievers, instead of flying to their embraces, put them to death. "Assi," says Morales, "reverencian los de aquella ciudad todo aquel camino hasta el monasterio (the nuns thus disfigured came out of the convent to meet the Moors, and were slain in the road), como bañado con la sangre de aquellas santas martires: y aun afirman como algunas personas que lo han andado de noche con devocion, han visto en el lumbres celestiales. Y es vosa insigne, y de singular gloria para aquella ciudad, aver tenide tanto numero de martires, que le valdran mucho mas en el cielo, que todas las muchas riquezas de sus campos, aunque son ten grandes."—*Cronica General de España*, tom. iii. p. 103. The English reader will recollect the nuns of Coldingham, who adopted the same expedient to escape the brutality of the Danes.

conditions:—1. That the Toledans should deliver up their horses and arms. 2. That such as wished might freely leave the city, but that they should not be allowed to take any thing with them. 3. That those who remained should be guaranteed in their persons and property, the latter being subject only to a moderate annual tribute. 4. That they should be allowed the exercise of their religion, and should retain their churches; but that they should not erect new ones without the express permission of the government; nor should they hereafter hurt the prejudices of the Moslems by processions, or the public display of other religious ceremonies. 5. That they should have their own judges, and be governed by their own laws; but that their jurisdiction should not extend to converts from Christianity to Islamism. These conditions were accepted; hostages were given; and Tarik with a portion of his troops made a triumphant entry into Toledo. He took possession of the royal palace, in which, among other riches, he is said to have found twenty-five crowns of gold, corresponding with the number of Gothic kings from Alaric* to Roderic.†

At this period Muza arrived in Spain, breathing ven- 712.
geance against the man who, by disobeying his commands, had reaped so rich a harvest of glory to his prejudice. Besides 18,000 men, he brought with him many noble Arabic chiefs, some belonging to the tribe of the prophet; and two of his own sons, Abdelola and Meruan; leaving the eldest, Abdelasis, to govern Africa in his absence. Before taking possession of the conquests which had been made, he resolved to rival them at least by his own, and thereby to have some ground for the boast, that he it was who had added a new kingdom to the vast empire of the caliphs. He laid siege to Seville, which he reduced in a month. Carmona and other neighboring cities shared the same fate. Thence he passed into Lusitania, and, almost without halting in his rapid march, seized on Libla, Ossonoba, Beja, and Mertola. Nothing obstructed his victorious passage until he arrived under the walls of the proud Merida. The extent, the magnificence, and the renown of this ancient capital of Spain roused the fire

* Which Alaric? The great Alaric, or the successor of Euric? From the former to Roderic were thirty-six kings. Neither will the number agree from Amalaric, the first Visigothic monarch who established his court in Spain.

Each crown, we are told, had a separate inscription, of the name, age, and reign of the wearer. The story is evidently fabulous.

The Christians of Toledo were afterwards reproachfully termed *Muzarabes*; both from their tamely submitting to the misbelievers, and from their tenacity in retaining the Gothic, in preference to the Roman liturgy.

† The Arabian fragments in Casiri, Isidorus Pacensis, the archbishop of Toledo, and Condé, as spoiled by Marés.

of Muza. "Happy the man," he exclaimed, "who shall subdue this great city!"

The opposition which Muza encountered even in pitching his tents, as well as the formidable appearance of the works, convinced him that the reduction of Merida must be a work of difficulty and time. Before closely investing it, he wrote to his son Abdelasis, whom he ordered to assemble as many troops as possible, and to join him with them immediately. He soon found that he had not over-rated the valor of the inhabitants. Their destructive sorties thinned his numbers, until he had recourse to a stratagem which caused them thenceforward to remain within their walls. Perceiving that there was a deep cavern hewn in the rock at some distance from the fortifications, he one night filled it with a select body of his troops. The following day he drew the Goths, who, according to custom, issued forth to the combat, beyond the ambuscade, and, by thus inclosing them between two lines of his followers, utterly destroyed them. But he himself had soon reason to mourn over a loss no less heavy. The misbelievers had seized a tower which overlooked the ramparts. To regain possession of this important position was the determination of the Christians. The conflict was terrific; but in the end the assailants triumphed, every Moor or Arab within being put to the sword. The fatal place was ever afterwards termed by the Mohammedans the *tower of martyrs*. At length Abdelasis arrived with a reinforcement of 7000 horse, and a considerable number of Berbers, or Mohammedan natives of Barbary, (the ancestors of the modern Moors), and enabled the emir to press the siege more vigorously. The inhabitants now began to despond; their numbers were alarmingly diminished, their provisions exhausted, and they had no hope of succor. They resolved to capitulate. Their deputies were introduced into the tent of Muza, and were favorably received. So brave a captain could not fail to admire the same quality in the Meridans, nor could they behold without respect the noble appearance and venerable beard* of the emir. The conditions which he imposed were honorable to both parties. The inhabitants were at liberty either to leave the city or to remain in undisturbed security; to be guaranteed in their religion, their persons, and substance. The treasures of the churches, however, he claimed, and the property of such as

* The Arabic writers tell us, that when the deputies were first introduced to Muza, they perceived his beard *white* with age; and when they returned on the following day, they were surprised to find it *black*. They thought him a magician, not knowing that in the interim he had changed the color by the juice of herbs. Such fables are abundant in the Mahomedan histories of Spain.

had either fallen during the siege, or fled to some other place. Among the hostages which were given on this occasion was Egilona, the widow of Roderic.*

In the mean time Tarik was not idle. Having taken due precautions for the security of Toledo, he left that capital to pursue some fugitive bands of Christians, who refused to bend under the Mohammedan yoke. He overtook and dispersed them in the mountains bordering on New Castile. He is said to have collected immense wealth in this expedition; but the most famous portion of his spoils was a splendid green table, so richly adorned with emeralds and other Grecian stones, that it might well be deemed one of the wonders of the world.† In another part of the country the young Abdelasis was no less successful. Being sent by his father against the revolted inhabitants of Seville, he first tried remonstrance, then arms, to bring them back to obedience. The city was taken by assault, and many Christians put to the sword. While the victor proceeded to finish the subjugation of the south of Spain, Muza hastened from Merida to Toledo, both to cause his authority to be acknowledged, and to punish his lieutenant Tarik for disobeying his orders. In his passage he reduced such towns as resisted; but most of them offered no resistance, on his proclaiming that he came not to injure the inhabitants in person or substance, and that he only warred with such as presumed to oppose him.

No sooner did Tarik hear of the emir's approach, than he boldly went forth to meet him. The long-expected interview took place at Talavera de la Reyna. Muza received him with haughtiness, and sternly demanded the reason of his disobedience. He respectfully replied, that his only reason was his attachment to the faith of the prophet; and asserted that what he had done would doubtless have been done by the emir, had the latter been present. But for his defence he relied more on the presents he brought, than on the profession of his zeal. These, which were of great number and value, were readily accepted by the avaricious Muza; but his pride was not the

* Ben Hazil (Ali ben Abdelrahman) et Rasis, *Fragmenta Historiarum* (apud Casiri Biblioth. tom. ii. p. 330—337.). Isidorus Pacensis, No. 36. (apud Florez, viii. 298, &c.) *Additio ad Joan. Biclarensem* (apud eundem, tom. vi. p. 423.). *Chronicon Albeidense* (apud eundem, xiii. 459.). Ximenes, *Rerum in Hispania Gestarum*, lib. iii. cap. 24. Conde, by Mariés, i. 77—93.

† This table is mentioned by Rasis and by Roderic of Toledo. It was supposed to have once belonged to Solomon; to have been transported from Jerusalem by the Romans, and from Rome by the victorious Goths under Alaric; and to have been preferred by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. The whole story is an Arabian fable. Evidently both Gibbon and Masdeu consider it such, though they do not say so.

less sensibly hurt, nor his desire of revenge unmitigated. Scarcely had he entered Toledo, when, in an assembly of Moslem chiefs, he openly, and in the name of the caliph, deprived the meritorious general of his command. All present testified their disapprobation by a mournful silence. Tarik alone had the courage to break it. "Since my victories over the enemies of the caliph," he exclaimed, "are my only crime, my conscience may well absolve me, and I may reasonably expect the same favor from my sovereign." The menace implied in these words increased the wrath of Muza; but he was prevented from proceeding to extremities by the representations of Mugueiz el Rumi, the unshaken friend of Tarik, who alluded to the probability of the soldiers rebelling in favor of a beloved and injured leader.*

During these eventful scenes, where is Theodomir?—After the disastrous struggle on the banks of the Guadalete, and his elevation to the throne of the Goths, this prince took refuge in Murcia and Granada, where he appears to have held considerable domains. There he erected the standard of his nation. He could scarcely, indeed, be so enthusiastic as to expect much advantage from resistance where forces so much more formidable than any he could hope to raise had been utterly annihilated; but he appears to have indulged the possibility of securing for himself and followers a home, with liberty, amidst the mountains of Granada. Even this last melancholy consolation was denied him. He was pursued by the enterprising Abdelasis, who, in obedience to his father's commands, had just overrun the whole of Andalusia, and who could not suffer Tadmír ben Góbdós (so is the Gothic prince named by the Arabs), to enjoy an independent sovereignty so near the conquests of the faithful. Theodomir attempted, not indeed an open, but an effectual resistance. While carefully shunning the valleys and plains, where his followers would have been at once borne down by the enemy's cavalry, he resolutely took his stand in the mountain passes, and removed not until he had either compelled the invaders to change the direction of their march, or had been driven from it by an overwhelming superiority of numbers; in neither case without causing great loss to his pursuers. But the contest was too unequal to continue long. He rashly endeavored, after his expulsion from the mountains, to defend a town in the open plain; his utter rout was the inevitable consequence. With the few troops still remaining, he now threw himself into Orihuela, the

* Authorities, the fragments of Casiri, the *Chronicles in Florez*, Roderic of Toledo, D'Herbelot, and Condé, as spoiled by Mariés.

only place of strength which now held for him. It was speedily invested by the Arabs. To hold out against forces confident in their numbers, and flushed with victory, was too much to be even attempted; and the Gothic prince had recourse to stratagem to procure reasonable terms of capitulation from the victorious Arab. He caused the women of the place to assume the garb and the arms of the bolder sex, and, to make the illusion more complete, he directed them to cross their long hair under the chin, so as to resemble beards. When the Arabs saw so many defenders on the walls and the towers, they were struck with surprise, and were more cautious in their advances. Seeing the favorable effect of his manœuvre, Theodimir demanded a safe-conduct, and proceeded in the disguise of a simple horseman to the camp of Abdelasis. He asked, and immediately obtained, very honorable conditions as the price of surrender.* The treaty was no sooner signed than the Goth discovered himself to be the royal Theodimir. Pleased with his courage, and still more with his confidence in Mohammedan honor, Abdelasis entertained him with respect and even affection. In the evening the Christian returned to the city, and on the morning of the following day the gates were opened to the Arabs. No sooner had the young emir entered into the place, than he was struck with the paucity of its defenders, and he could not help inquiring of Theodimir what was become of the multitude of soldiers who the day preceding had covered the walls. The Gothic prince acknowledged the stratagem which he had used; and his ingenuity was highly applauded both by Abdelasis and the Mussulman chiefs. The young emir abode in Orihuela three days, and from thence he proceeded to reduce some other towns no less important than the one he had just added to the temporal sway of the caliph.

The satisfaction which Muza could not fail to feel from the success of his son, was somewhat damped by the tenor of a letter just arrived from Damascus. He was commanded to restore Tarik to the command of troops which that general had so often led to victory; and was besides reproached for wishing to deprive Islamism of so firm a support. The mortified emir was obliged to obey: to the joy of the Mussulmans, Tarik was again enabled to lead them on to victory. He was even admitted to the table of his superior; who, though still rancorous at heart, and though resolved to pursue the odious lieutenant with all the vengeance of a character naturally

* See the treaty, Appendix N.

stern, was constrained to put on the appearance of reconciliation.

713. The union of the two chiefs was soon to prove disastrous to the Christians. Muza proceeded northwards; reduced Salamanca; advanced as far as Astorga; thence returning to the Douro, he followed the course of that river to Soria; he then passed the mountains, and arrived before Saragossa, which Tarik had previously invested. To this city many Christians had fled from all parts of Spain: its natural position, and its artificial strength, afforded the hope that, if it could not eventually withstand the arms of the misbelievers, it might at least hold out until favorable conditions could be extorted. So long as the army of Tarik alone assailed the place, the inhabitants defended themselves with characteristic obstinacy; but the moment the forces of Muza appeared in sight, their courage fell, and their only hope was an appeal to the moderation of the victors. They were treated, however, with much severity. Being informed by some deserters that they were without provisions, Muza took advantage of their situation, and imposed on them, in addition to the ordinary tribute, an enormous contribution, to be paid the very day the Arabs entered the city. Such contributions were always exacted from enemies obliged to surrender at discretion: they were significantly termed the *blood ransom*, since they redeemed the lives, and preserved from pillage the houses, of the inhabitants. In the present case, the consecrated vessels of the churches were delivered to satisfy the rapacity of the emir.

The career of Arabian conquest was now more rapid than ever: the Goths appear to have abandoned all intention of resistance. Tarik, with amazing rapidity, seized on Tortosa, Murviedro, Valencia, Xativa, and Denia. Muza, in his passage to the Pyrenees, took Huesca, Tarazona, Lerida, Calahorra, Tarragona, Barcelona, Gerona, and Ampurias. The latter is even said by one Arabic historian to have crossed the mountainous barrier, and to have seized on Narbonne; but this is both improbable in itself,—for why should the emir have invaded another country, when Lusitania, Galicia, the Asturias, and Biscay were yet unsubdued?—and it is unsupported by the authority of contemporary Christian historians. From Ampurias he appears to have directed his course into Galicia, and thence into Lusitania, indulging his ruling propensity by the acquisition of enormous wealth. His behavior in this respect was opposite to that of the equally valiant Tarik. The latter general always reserved the fifth part of the booty for the treasury of the caliph; the rest he is said to

have generously abandoned to his officers and soldiers. The avarice of his superior, or perhaps the smarting sense of the wrongs he had endured, made him eager to denounce to the caliph the conduct of the emir, whom he represented as oppressive alike to Arab and Christian, and as appropriating to private uses the portion legally due to the commanders of the faithful. On his side, Muza was no less vehement in his condemnation of the measures of Tarik. Alarmed at the growing misunderstanding between his generals, and at the injury which it might occasion to Islamism, Waled commanded both to appear personally before the throne at Damascus.*

Tarik immediately obeyed the summons, after appoint- 714.
ing Habib ben Abi Obeida to succeed him in the command of his army. But Muza was loth to forsake the sweets of unbounded power, and still more the visions of empire which he had formed. If there be any truth in the testimony of several Arabic writers,† he had prepared to subdue Gaul, Italy, and Germany; “to follow the course of the Danube, from its source to the Euxine sea; to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople; and, returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria.”‡ Though such a design seems too wild to have been seriously indulged by one of Muza’s years and experience, there can be no doubt that his ardor had little cooled by age, and that he had resolved effectually to subdue the remaining portions of territory, both in the Peninsula and Gaul, which belonged to the monarchy of the Goths. His reluctance to obey the imperial mandate added to the suspicions already entertained of his views; and a more peremptory order was sent for his appearance. A messenger of the caliph reached him at Lugo in Galicia, caught the bridle of his horse, and in presence of the assembled army commanded him to repair without delay to the court of his sovereign. The summons was too decided in its terms, and too publicly delivered, to be disregarded; and the emir reluctantly commenced his journey. Before leaving Spain, he appointed his eldest son, Abdelasis, to the government of the country; his second son, Abdelola, was left at Tangier, as governor of Almagreb, or Western Africa; his third, Meruan, remained at Cairwan. His journey from Tangier to Syria is pompously

* The fragments of Casiri, Isidore of Beja, the monk of Abelda, Roderic of Toledo, and Condé spoiled by Marlés.

† See Cardonne, tom. i. p. 95.

‡ Gibbon, vol. v. chap. 51, quarto edition. The account of the conquest of Spain as given by this historian is eloquent, but meager, and often erroneous. For the superior accuracy, as well as fullness of the relation in the text, we are indebted to Condé.

described by the Arabian writers. His prodigious wealth, his numerous escorts, the most conspicuous part of which were 400 Gothic nobles splendidly apparelled, and his thousands of captives, rendered his passage more like the triumphant return of a victorious sovereign, than the reluctant march of an accused general to implore the favor of his master. There can be no doubt, however, that all this display was well designed: his captives would attest his success in war; his proffered riches might disarm the displeasure of the caliph.

Tarik had arrived many months before, and had justified himself in the eyes of Walid. "Ask the true believers," said the general, confident in his own integrity; "ask also the Christians, what the conduct of Tarik has been both in Africa and Spain. Let them say if they have ever seen him cowardly, avaricious, or cruel!" Walid assured him that his services, and the unjust treatment he had endured, were well known; and that he had been recalled as much for his own sake, as through the unfounded complaints of Muza, since his safety might have been endangered in a country where the emir and his sons were so powerful.

Muza did not reach Syria until the close of the year 714. Walid Abul Abbas was on the bed of death; and Suleyman, the brother and heir of the caliph, wrote to the emir, commanding him not to approach the expiring sovereign, but to delay his entrance into Damascus until the opening of a new reign. Suleyman doubtless wished that the pomp of the spectacle should grace his own accession, and that the treasures now brought should not run the risk of dispersion by his brother. But Muza imprudently disregarded the command: perhaps he dreaded the fate which would await him for his delay, should Walid recover; and he proceeded to the palace. The two generals were speedily confronted in the presence of the sick sovereign, and Muza was convicted of injustice to his companion in arms.* But, whatever might have been his misconduct, Walid could not forget his past services; and he would probably have escaped with a reprimand, or at most with the sacrifice of a portion of his wealth, had the caliph's life been spared. That prince, however, in a few days bade adieu to empire and to life, and Muza remained exposed to the vengeance of Suleyman. He was cast into prison; was

* We omit the dispute as to which of the two generals had the honor of finding the wonderful table, because it is about as apocryphal as the wonderful lamp. On this occasion Tarik is said to have produced a leg which he had artfully concealed, before the table was seized by Muza, who contended that it had always been mutilated; and thereby to have confounded his rival. It is strange that judicious modern writers should be so prone to receive the inventions of the Arabs.

beaten with rods, while made to stand a whole day before the gate of the palace; and lastly was fined in so heavy a sum, that, unless his wealth were exhaustless, he must have been impoverished.*

While Muza was thus deservedly punished for his rapacity and injustice, his son Abdelasis was actively employed in finishing the subjugation of the peninsula. Lusitania he subdued in person, Navarre and several cities near the Pyrenees by his generals. He appears, notwithstanding his private vices, to have been a mild and able governor, and to have shown great indulgence to the Spaniards and Goths. But one step, which he doubtless expected would strengthen his influence with both Arabs and natives, was the occasion of his downfall. Smitten with the charms of Egilona, the widow of Rod-
eric, he made her first his concubine, next his wife; and
it is probable that, through the counsels of that ambitious and unprincipled woman,† he aimed at an independent sovereignty. It is certain that suspicions of this intention were entertained by the Mussulmans, and that his destruction was wished by such, both of them and the natives, as had wives or daughters dishonored by his lust.‡ Probably also hints of the evident tendency of his policy were forwarded to Damascus. However this be, his ruin was decreed by the new caliph; nor could all the treasures be duly sent as tribute produce a favorable change in the mind of his sovereign. Besides, Suleyman might well apprehend the open rebellion of the son, on learning the story of the father's harsh fate. To prevent the consequences which he dreaded might arise from the indignation of this powerful family, he dispatched secret orders for the deposition and death of the three brothers. The fatal
order for Abdelasis was first received by the companion
in arms of the father, and the friend of the son, Habib ben Abi Obeida. His dismay on perusing it was great. "Is it possi-

* The Arabic writers mention two hundred thousand golden dinars, or about eighty thousand pounds sterling,—a prodigious sum in those days.

† Mariana, in his usual style of declamation, gives us an account of the respectful passion of the Arab, of her modest replies to his addresses, &c. This credulous writer, who appears to have been wholly unacquainted with the relative weight of testimony, follows the fabulous chronicle of don Rodrigo, or the pretended translation of Rasis, as blindly as he does the most authentic histories. It is well that his work is sunk into oblivion: nobody reads it in Spain.

‡ "Cum Hispalim (Seville) divitiis et honorum fascibus cum Regina Hispanie in conjugio copulatam, vel filias regum ac principum pellicatas, et imprudenter distractas extuaret, seditione suorum facta," &c.—*Isid. Pacensis*, era, 753. This conduct indeed was quite enough to cause a revolt, as well as his intention, "jugum Arabicum a sua cervici evertere." There is no difficulty in accounting for the severity of the caliph towards the whole family.

ble," said he to Zeyad ben Nabaak, who was associated with him in this odious commission, "that the enemies of Muza have so soon effaced the remembrance of his glorious exploits!" After a moment's consideration, however, he added, like a true Mussulman, "But Allah is just! the sovereign must be obeyed!" To prevent the soldiers from taking the part of a liberal, and therefore a beloved, chief, the two generals industriously spread reports injurious to his honor, his loyalty, and his religion; and represented him as the concealed enemy alike of Suleyman and the prophet. The ardor of his friends was cooled by these reports, which were the more readily received as they had some foundation in appearances: and Abdelasis, while assisting at morning prayers in the mosque of Seville, fell beneath the poniards of the assassins.*

After this bloody execution, so characteristic of Mussulman government, Habib ben Obeida departed with the head of the emir to the court of Damascus. It was shown to Muza by the caliph, who at the same time asked him, with a bitter smile, if he recognized it. The old man, who recognized it too well, turned away his shuddering looks, and fearlessly exclaimed, "Cursed be he who has destroyed a better man than himself!" He then left the palace and betook himself to the deserts of Arabia, where the grief of having thus lost his children soon brought him broken-hearted to the grave.†

Severe as were the afflictions of Muza, and execrable as was the manner in which those afflictions were brought upon him, it is impossible to feel much pity for his fate. Of envy, rapacity, and injustice, he has been proved abundantly guilty; and though little is said of his cruelty by Arabic writers who lived long after his time, it is no less indisputable from the testimony of contemporary Christian historians. The horrors which he perpetrated in his career of conquest, or rather of extermination, have been compared to those of Troy and of Jerusalem, and to the worst atrocities of the persecuting heathen emperors.‡ There may be exaggeration in the declamatory state-

* His headless body was buried in the court-yard of his palace.

† Isidorus Pacensis, Nos. 36—38. (apud Florez, viii. 296, &c.) Additio ad Joannis Biclarensis Chronicon (apud eundem, vi. 439.). Cronicon Albedense, No. 78. (apud eundem, xiii. 461, &c. Ben Hasil (or properly Ali ben Abderahman). Fragmentum Hist. Hisp. (apud Casiri Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 326. Basis Fragmentum, &c. (apud eundem, ii. 321—324.). Ximenis Rod. Historia Arabum, cap. 9, 10 necnon Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. iii. cap. 24. Conde by Mariés, i. 104—116.

‡ "Quis enim narrare queat tanta pericula? quis numerare tum importuna naufragia? Nam si omnia membra verterentur in linguas, omnium nequaquam Hispaniæ ruinas, vel ejus tot tantaque mala, dicere potuerit humana natura. Sed ut in brevi cuncta legenti remotem flagella, relictis sæculi innumerabilibus ab Adamo usque nunc cladibus, quas per infinitas regiones et civitates crudelis intulit mundo hostis immundus, quicquid his-

ments of those historians, but the very exaggeration must be admitted to prove the melancholy fact.

The execution of Abdelasis produced a great consternation in the minds of the natives. They feared that the favorable articles of treaties between them and the two emirs might be broken or evaded by succeeding governors. To place their remaining liberties on some better foundation than the caprice of a viceroy, Theodomir, on the departure of Habib, dispatched ambassadors* to procure their ratification by the head of the Mohammedan world. These ambassadors were well received by Suleyman; who unhesitatingly confirmed all that had been granted in favor of the Christians by Tarik, Muza, or Abdelasis; and who even diminished the tribute which the Gothic king had engaged annually to furnish in his treaty with the last of these governors. Theodomir was thus contented to hold a small portion of this once brilliant monarchy as the vassal of the misbelievers; and the example was imitated by his successor Athanagild. It need not surprise us, that the historians of the country do not recognize either in the line of their kings; and that the crown is made to be continued in a prince (Pelayo) whose dominions were as confined as Theodomir's, and who reigned at the same time; but who, as he disdained to hold his sceptre at the pleasure of the victors, and preferred independence with poverty amidst the wild rocks of the Asturias, to plenty and slavery on the fertile plains of Murcia, has the glory of being venerated as the regenerator of his country's greatness, and as the restorer of her monarchy.†

The inglorious reigns of Theodomir and his successor, —inglorious because enslaved,—need not be much noticed; indeed, they would afford little to interest the reader. Whether the death of Theodomir was natural or violent is unknown: we only read that in 743 he was succeeded by Athanagild. His character is very favorably drawn by Isidorus Pacensis. He is represented as prompt in battle, as constant in the faith, as most prudent in counsel, as eloquent in speech, as well read in the Sacred Scriptures, as elevated in his qualities, and as commanding the respect alike of Christians and

torialiter capta Troia pertulit, quicquid Hierosolyma predicta per prophetarum eloquia vajulavit, quicquid Babylonia per scripturarum eloquia sustulit.—quicquid postremo Roma apostolorum nobilitate decorata martyri aliter confecit, omnia et tot Hispania quondam deliciosa et nunc misera affecta, tam in honore quam etiam in dedecore, experta est."—*Isidorus Pacensis*, æra 749. This is precious declamation, and very characteristic of the rude chroniclers of the middle ages.

* One account says, but on inferior authority, that Theodomir went in person to Damascus.

† See Appendix L, and the reign of Pelayo, vol. ii.

Mohammedana.* Of ATHANAGILD we hear little more than that he was cruelly oppressed by a viceroy of his time; that he, on some frivolous pretext or other, was fined in a heavy sum, (*ternovies millia solidorum*, says the bishop of Beja,) and that he would have been compelled to comply with the rapacious demand, had not the Mohammedans themselves, especially the soldiers, interfered, and forced the viceroy not only to be more just, but even to indemnify the Christian prince for the persecution he had endured.† The kingdom of Murcia 755. ended about the year 755, after the arrival of Abderahman, whose exploits will be narrated in the first chapter of the ensuing book. The fate of Athanagild is unknown. Probably he betook himself, with many thousands of his subjects and fellow-Christians, to the Asturian mountains, when the victories of the new kingdom were borne on the wings of fame, and when the civil commotions of the misbelievers rendered it impossible for him to expect security or even life in the afflicted province which he had ruled.‡

Before, however, we proceed to relate the exploits of Pelayo and his successors, or the progress and decline of the Mohammedan empire in Spain, a separate chapter must be devoted to the political, civil, and religious condition of the people subject to the Gothic monarchy.

CHAP. II.

POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE PENINSULA UNDER THE GOTHs.

As without imparting some information on the institutions and character of a people, history, however interesting, must be useless,—a mere record of events, which can convey no instruction,—the present chapter is devoted to that most important of subjects. Yet, important as it is, the condition, whether political or moral, of the peninsula, has, until very lately, oc-

* "Fuit enim scripturarum amator, eloquentia mirificus, in preliis expeditus, qui et apud Almiralmuminin prudentior inter ceteros inventus utiliter est honoratus."—*Isid. Pacen.* æra 750. But not all the good bishop's praise will wipe the stain of degradation from the memory of this prince.

† See the reign of the viceroy Husam, in chapter i. of the ensuing book.

‡ Isidorus Pacensis, ubi suprâ. Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon, No. 50, &c. (apud Florez, tom. xiii.). Masdeu, tom. xii. p. 17—51. y xv. p. 78, &c. The loss of two other historical works by the bishop of Beja, to which he himself refers us, cannot be too much lamented. See the work of Condé, *refait*—that is, *spoiled*—by Marles, tom. i. We cannot now refer to the original Spanish edition, which is not to be purchased either in England or France. Frequent perusals of it, however, have fully impressed it on our recollection.

cupied little of the historian's attention. In this, as in too many other cases, the foliage has been preferred to the fruit of knowledge.

When the northern barbarians, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, made their destructive irruptions into the Peninsula, the number of provinces was five, exclusive of Tingitana in Africa, and of the Balearic Isles,—Tarragona, Carthagera, Galicia, Lusitania, and Bætica. To these was soon added Narbonensian Gaul, called also Septimania,* which, from its occupation by the Goths, was in the sequel denominated Landgothia, and at length Languedoc.† The Balearic Isles, in 466, were seized by the Vandals, in whose possession they remained until Belisarius reduced them to the sway of Justinian. Tingitana also submitted to that renowned general; but in the seventh century we again find that province an appendage of the Wisigothic crown. The period of this reconquest is unknown; but there is reason to believe that it was in the reign of Swintila, who had the glory of for ever ending the Greek domination in the Peninsula. Hence the number of provinces was still seven. At one time, indeed, there was eight. Carthagera was divided into two: Contestania, of which the capital was the city of Carthagera, held by the imperialists; and Carpetania, which, with its capital Toledo, belonged to the Goths. From Swintila to the invasion of the Moors, the two provinces were reunited, and Toledo, the royal residence, acknowledged not only as the capital of the whole province, but as the metropolis of the kingdom.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that the metropolitan honor was enjoyed by Seville long before Toledo, apparently from the time of Constantine the Great. Amalaric was the first Wisigothic king who established his court in Spain, and he naturally selected the former city as the seat of his government. Athanagild translated it to Toledo. The Suevi had also their capital, Braga in Galicia. Each of the seven provinces enumerated had the same local capital as during the dominion of the Romans. In fact, the geography of the whole country underwent little change, either in its divisions or its

* Masden (xi. 30.) derives this word from the Septimani, or colonists of the seventh legion settled at Beziers. Marsa (Limes Hispanicus, lib. i. c. 16.) and Bougen (Histoire Ecclesiastique, &c. de Carcasonne, p. 33.) with more probability, from the seven districts or cities (each an episcopal see) possessed by the Wisigoths in Gaul.

† We are not sure that Languedoc is a corruption of Landgothia, as is often contended. The former word is of modern use, and may have been applied by the troubadours to the district of which the inhabitants spoke the *Langue d'oc*, in contradistinction to those who used the *Langue d'Oyl*.

nomenclature, until some time after the descent of the *Mohammedans*.

The government of the *Wisigoths* was, in appearance, an absolute monarchy; yet the power of the chief was so restrained in its exercise by the controlling influence of the prelates, that it might, with equal propriety, be termed a theocracy. In the infancy of their office, the Gothic kings were no less controlled by their nobles; they were, in fact, but *primi inter pares*; they had no royal descent, no hereditary honors, nor, indeed, much transmitted wealth, with which to captivate or influence their rude companions. Every fierce chieftain considered himself as good as his king, and might become one himself. As the dignity was originally military, and conferred on superior address and valor, so the same qualities might assuredly lead to the same success: the electors were, indeed, too barbarous to form any notion of other qualifications; the sword had opened them a way, from the very bosom of the north, to their fertile abodes of the south, and by it only could their dominion be preserved. Until they were habituated to a settled life—until they found that both property and persons demanded security, and that justice was no less necessary in a state than valor—they looked with supreme contempt on the arts of government.

Anciently, when the election of a chief was to be made, the whole ceremony consisted in making the successful candidate promise that he would behave valiantly in war, and rule with justice during peace; and in raising him on a buckler above the heads of the surrounding multitudes, who hailed him as their leader. But from the time of *Leovigild*, and especially when the elective power rested as much in the clergy as in the warlike chiefs, there was more “pomp and circumstance” attending the inauguration. Both the secular and spiritual chiefs being assembled for the purpose, the candidate was nominated: he swore to observe the laws, to administer justice without partiality, and to permit the exercise of no other religion than the Catholic. He then received the oaths of fidelity and obedience from all assembled, and was, probably, raised on the buckler as in former ages, and as we know was afterwards practised in regard to the *Asturian* kings. The following Sunday, before the same assembly, in the metropolitan church of *Toledo*, he was solemnly consecrated by the prelate of that see, and his head anointed with oil. His titles were high-sounding: “*Your Glory*” was the most usual; though the epithets of *Pious*, *Conquering*, &c. were often added. *Reared* was the first of the *Wisigothic* kings distinguished by the name of *Flavius*. Whether he assumed it after the impe-

rial family of that name, or from its reputed Gothic signification, is unknown; but it continued to adorn the titles of his successors. His father, as observed in the course of this history, was also the first who surrounded the throne with regal state, and whose effigy bore the impress of a crowned head.* The successors of that monarch improved on his magnificence: robes of purple, thrones of silver, sceptres and crowns of gold, distinguished them still more from the time of Chindaswind.

Soon after the establishment of the Wisigothic monarchy at Toledo, the power of the crown seems to have been bounded by two restrictions only:—1. The king could not condemn without legal trial, without being guided by the provisions of the national code: but he had power to soften the rigor of severe justice; he could pass a more favorable sentence on, or entirely absolve, the delinquents brought before his tribunals. The fathers, indeed, of the fourth council of Toledo were of opinion, that in capital cases the king ought not to pass sentence of death, unless in concert with other constituted judges;† but we have no proof that so merciful a representation as they made to Sisenand on this subject had its intended effect.—2. The second restriction related to the decrees of the king, which were received as binding *during his life*; but which had no force *in perpetuity*, unless sanctioned at the same time by the signatures of the bishops and barons in council assembled. In other respects he was unshackled. He could make war or peace at pleasure; he could issue proclamations which had the force of law, subject to the restriction just mentioned; he commanded in the field, and presided in the courts of justice.

The jurisdiction of the king was not confined to affairs purely temporal.

1. He could issue general regulations relating to the maintenance of discipline, or the interests of religion; though it may be doubted whether such regulations were of other than

* "Where was the rubied crown, the sceptre where,
And where the golden pome, the proud array
Of ermines, aureate vests, and jewelry,
With all which Leovigild for after kings
Left, ostentatious of his power?"

Southey's Roderic, ii. 57.

This pomp was somewhat vain with regard to kings whose children could not inherit even their personal property, much less their crown, and whose families were therefore sure to be soon levelled with other subjects.

† Depping (ii. 371.) here falls into the mistake of believing that the king alone could not pass a capital sentence: "Le roi ne pouvait prononcer seul une sentence de mort: il fallait que les juges la confirmassent, pour qu'elle fût valable." This judicious writer has evidently mistaken a recommendation for a fact. See Concilium Toletanum, xiii. canon 75. in the collection of Aguirre.

an urgent temporary nature, or of too little importance to require the deliberations of a national council.

2. He could preside in tribunals of appeal, even in affairs purely ecclesiastical. When a priest or monk had reason to complain of his bishop, and laid his cause before the metropolitan, if justice were refused him by that metropolitan, or even if the decision of the latter, though favorable, did not satisfy him, he could carry the cause before the tribunal of the king, from whose decision there was no appeal. Thus the causes of the monk Terna, who had been accused of obscenity, and of the bishop Cecil, who had retired without the due consent of the church to a monastery, were carried before the royal seats of justice: the former appears to have been partly exculpated by Recared; the latter was compelled by Siebert to resume his episcopal functions. This privilege of the Wisigothic kings, so different from the custom of other countries, is expressly acknowledged by the thirteenth council of Toledo. In the body, too, of the national code, the provisions of which were chiefly drawn up, and consequently sanctioned, by the clergy, we find a curious confirmation of the same prerogative. If the bishop of any diocese failed to put in force the penal laws against the Jews, any other bishop might come forward to do so, without the imputation of infringing the jurisdiction of another; and if none of the prelates testified the necessary zeal in this respect, it was the king's duty to punish them for their negligence.

3. The king nominated to all vacant bishoprics, and even translated from one see to another; but this prerogative was very gradually acquired. Under the emperors, the Spanish bishops were invariably elected by the inferior clergy and people assembled; and the same method continued to be observed under the Wisigothic kings, so long as the Arian religion was the religion of the state. After the conversion, however, of Recared, several cathedrals resigned—whether voluntarily or compulsorily, does not appear—this ancient privilege into the monarch's hands; and though, as late as the fourth council of Toledo (633), the inferior clergy and people were empowered to meet, as anciently, for the election of a bishop, the Spanish churches appear soon afterwards to have agreed that, on a vacancy, each would forward to the court the names of the individuals considered best fitted for the dignity, leaving the rest to the crown. But before the close of the century, this course was abandoned, probably because it was found inconvenient or tedious; and a national council (the twelfth of Toledo) ceded to the bishop of Toledo, as the first of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the one most frequently in communication with the

king, the privilege of recommending, on his own responsibility, proper persons for the vacant sees. Thenceforth, when intelligence arrived of any prelate's death, the king had only to consult with the metropolitan; the vacancy was immediately supplied; and the consecration followed by the royal order as legally as if the election had been made in the cathedrals.

4. The fourth and last ecclesiastical prerogative of the king was that of convoking national councils, and of confirming them by his authority. He was thus, in the widest sense, in a degree unknown among Catholic nations, the protector of the church. It cannot, however, be denied that some of these prerogatives were improperly vested in the crown. In consequence, the bishops became courtiers, and generally submissive to the royal will. How easily even the fathers of the Toledan councils were swayed by fear, or by hope of favor, has been seen in the preceding chapter. What would the case have been, had the crown been hereditary instead of elective?

In other respects the king was invested by the laws with much outward reverence. Whoever conspired against his life, was punished with death; or if the capital penalty was remitted, the delinquent was blinded, shaven, and doomed to perpetual confinement. He who even affronted the king was, if rich, mulcted in half his possessions; if poor, he remained at the monarch's disposal. Whoever defamed the character of a *dead* king, was punished with fifty stripes. Yet, with all this studied respect, no monarchs were ever so unfortunate as those of the Wisigoths,—none whose empire, liberty, or even life, was so insecure. From Ataulphus to Roderic, the greater number were assassinated or deposed. Such tragedies were the inevitable effect of the law of election, and of the ambition of the great. Had hereditary monarchy been established among the Goths, their history would not have been stained by such horrors, and their condition would have been one of incomparably greater security and happiness. In vain did the clergy endeavor to stem that torrent of rebellion; in vain did they thunder out perpetual excommunication against every rebel, lay or ecclesiastical, debarring him from all intercourse with the faithful, and readmitting him into the bosom of the church only at the hour of death: conspiracy succeeded conspiracy; and he who triumphed, had little difficulty in procuring his recognition, and the pointing of similar thunders at the heads of all future rebels.*

* *Concilia Toletana*, iii. iv. v. vi. viii. ix. x. xii. xvi., &c. The canons are too numerous to be quoted. *Codex Legis Wisigothorum*, lib. xii. tit. 3. leg. 2. 11. 22. 24, &c. *Ferreras*, part iii. sig. vi. vii. *Mauclou*, xi. 14, &c.

Next to the king in civil dignity were the dukes (*duces*), who appear to have been governors of provinces, and invested with a two-fold authority, military and civil. The count (*comes*) ranked next below the duke: his jurisdiction is believed to have been confined to some particular city; hence the same duke had not unfrequently several counts dependent on his government. The relative jurisdiction, however, of the two has been matter of much controversy. Marin, whose work on the military antiquities of his nation entitles him to so much respect, contends that the only distinction he can find between them is, that the dignity of duke was more military than that of count.* Another writer considers it doubtful which of the two was superior; as both titles, he says, were sometimes applied to the same individual.† It is probable, however, that both writers are wrong. There is but one passage in the ancient laws which speaks of the *comites provinciarum*;‡ and that passage seems merely to embrace collectively the counts who resided in the provinces, not to imply that they exercised any jurisdiction over those provinces. On the contrary, we find frequent mention of the *duces provinciarum*, and of the *comites urbium*. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that the two titles could be used to express offices either similar in nature or equal in dignity.§

These governors, whether provincial or civic, appear to have had their deputies or substitutes. In the Visigothic laws, scarcely any term occurs more frequently than *vicarius*: that of *gardingus* is also of frequent recurrence. It is impossible to fix with accuracy the precise nature of the offices held by these dignitaries. The former, however, seems

* Marin. *Historia de la Milicia Española*, tom. i. cap. 2. This author seems to found his distinction on the fact that the great employments of the palace were held by counts. There was the *comes scanciarum*, or grand cup-bearer; the *comes cubiculi*, or lord chamberlain, &c. The distinction may be just enough in this case; but the *comes urbis* must necessarily have possessed a military jurisdiction, or he would not have been intrusted with the defence of that city,—his chief duty, as it appears.

† Depping, *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*, ii. 372. "Il est encore douteux que l'une de ces dignités ait été plus considérée que l'autre, d'autant plus que les historiens donnent au même personnage, tantôt le titre de duc, tantôt celui de comte." Surely this writer is mistaken. There is, we conceive, no instance of the same individual being styled duke and count, unless, indeed, he held both offices; if so, one of them must have been a sinecure.

‡ See the *Codex*, lib. viii. tit. 1. leg. 9. and Masdeu, xi. 38.

§ The distinction between duke and count in favor of the former's superiority, was at all events well understood in France:

"Rex Childebertus crescens te crescere cogat;
Qui modo dat comitis, det tibi jura ducis."

Venantius Fortunatus.

The dukes seem always to have been intrusted with the defence of the frontier provinces.

to have been the deputy of the count, perhaps also of the duke. The *gardingus* was evidently the same high officer as our warden, whose authority, notwithstanding the opinion of some eminent Spanish critics, does not appear to have been the delegated one of the dukes.* The *gardingus*, or warden, we find intrusted sometimes with the defence of a single fortress, sometimes with that of many spread over a continuous district; but we nowhere find that his jurisdiction extended over a province, or that his functions were, like those of the count, partly military and partly civil. He was, doubtless, a military governor appointed by the king, inferior in dignity to the dukes, but not necessarily dependent on them. That his post was much more distinguished than the vicar's, is evident from his admission into the national councils, where he ranked immediately after the counts, and from the exclusion of the vicar. It is, however, remarkable that no royal decree or council regulation is to be found bearing the signature of the *gardingus*, though he was summoned with the dukes and counts to every council, and had a voice in the making of laws as much as either.†

These dignitaries presided over provinces, districts, or cities. The towns and villages had also their governors, *propositi* or *villici*, whose authority was somewhat similar to that of the modern *alcaldes*. They were paid from the royal treasury. An inferior class of officers, the *numerarii*, were employed to collect the public revenue, and were appointed by the *comes patrimonii*. Besides these functionaries of the crown, each city or town had its municipal council, or *ayuntamiento*, composed of the inhabitants most respectable for their wisdom or station. The members were styled *priores* or *seniores*; the exact nature of their services, which were probably gratuitous, cannot be ascertained, but they no doubt concerned the preservation of the local tranquillity and interests. Perhaps these *seniores* were the council of the *villicus*, who stood in need both of their advice and influence in the exercise of his office.

As the weighty affairs, both political and military, which devolved on the governors, and their visors or lieutenants,

* The Spanish historians know not what to make of this *gardingus*. Morales tells us (tom. iii. fol. 144.), that from all he can collect, this officer was concerned in the administration of justice. Masdeu thinks he was the duke's deputy, as the visor was of the count. He was evidently too considerable an officer to be a deputy. Other historians, as Mariana and Ferreras, generally allude to his high dignity, without defining, or attempting to define, its limits. Vossius thinks he was the governor of the castles where the king abode; if so, he was little more than captain of the royal guard,—a post far below his real one. He was, beyond all doubt, one of the great pillars of the Gothic monarchy.

† Concilium Toletanum, xiii. can. 2.

rendered it impossible for them to devote much of their attention to the administration of justice, each had judges subordinate to him. These had cognizance of all suits, civil or criminal; but their decisions were probably subject to the revision of the counts. Each judge, too, had a vicar or substitute, like the higher dignitaries. Besides these ordinary judges, who were entirely dependent on the governors, there were *assertores pacis*, or extraordinary judges, who were immediately dependent on the king, and whose jurisdiction appears to have been confined to special commissions. There was another officer, the *tyrphad*, whose jurisdiction is thought to have been exclusively military. That he was both a governor and a judge is evident from the tenor of several Wisigothic laws, which not only recognize him as a military officer of high rank, but authorize appeals from his tribunal to that of the duke.*

In all the tribunals of the country, the accused, both men and women, had the privilege either of defending themselves, or of intrusting their defence to the professional advocates or *defensores*. This latter privilege, however, was common only to freemen; slaves could only answer in person or by their owners, unless in some special cases. The forms of proceeding in these tribunals were much the same as are now practised in the Spanish courts, but much less tedious.† In criminal cases, accusations were made in writing, in the presence of three witnesses; and if the alleged crimes were proved, the accuser was rewarded. To deter charges so serious from being lightly or maliciously made, the false delator was either visited with the same punishment as the accuser was to have suffered, had they been fully substantiated, or he lost his liberty, and became the slave of the injured defendant. Slaves could not judiciously accuse, unless their owners bore testimony to their veracity and integrity, and, indeed, became responsible for their evidence. The accused were imprisoned, and, when obstinately silent, even tortured; but that torture was not to disable them: the judge was responsible both for their lives and for the soundness of their limbs. If a slave died or was injured by the torture, the judge had only to purchase another in lieu of the victim; if a freeman, he lost both his own liberty and his property.‡

* Codex Leg. Wisig. lib. ii. tit. i. leg. 11—26. tit. iv. leg. 26. and 29. lib. ix. tit. i. lex 29. tit. ii. leg. 8, 9. The critical reader should also consult the Spanish translation of this code, the *Fuero Juzgo*, with the glosses of the commentators. Of this code much more will be said in the proper place.

† Codex Leg. Wisig. lib. ii. tit. v. leg. 1, 2, 5, &c.

‡ Idem. lib. vi. tit. i. leg. 1—5. lib. vii. tit. i. leg. 1—4. et tit. ii. lex 20, &c.

It has been before observed that Euric, after he had driven the Romans from Spain, formed a collection of laws, mostly compiled, which he probably designed rather for the natives than for his own Goths. As some, perhaps many, of these laws were founded on those of Theodosius, and as the victors bore a thorough contempt for every thing Roman, it is difficult to believe that they would forsake their own ancient traditional customs, such as they had religiously preserved ever since those customs were promulgated by the "all-wise one" amidst the dark hills of their native Scandinavia. Yet, on the other hand, as the Spaniards were familiarized with the code of Theodosius, they could need no compilation from it. Probably the object of Euric was to assimilate the customs of his northern followers with the laws of the conquered people, that the observance of the new code might be obligatory on both nations, and that the latter might be gradually weaned from their Roman predilections. We may however, assuredly believe that if this collection were intended for the Goths as well as the Spaniards, the Roman portion of the laws must have been greatly altered before they could suit the former: the slavish obedience which they exact towards the emperors, whose attributes they represented as little less than divine, would little accord with the bold freedom of the Goths;—of men who regarded their king only as a military chief; as possessing no authority which they had not conferred, or might not at any moment recall; as superior to themselves in no respect but one,—in the conventional authority he exercised when on the field of battle. The whole frame and texture, indeed, of the Roman laws, after the accession of the emperors, were pervaded by the worst maxims of despotism. But whether the *Liber Judicum* was intended for the Spaniards only, or for both them and their conquerors, it was necessarily an imperfect performance. Accordingly, Alaric, the successor of Euric, ordered the most learned of his subjects, lay or clerical, to improve it, by adapting it more completely to present times and circumstances, and by adding to it from the Theodosian code such laws as were susceptible of being reconciled with the manners and habits of his people. Hence this second collection, which from the name of his secretary was called *Breviarium Aviani*, and which was to supersede the other in all the tribunals of the country, was much more akin with the institutions of Rome than that of Euric.* It is, however, im-

* Masdeu (*España Goda*, xi. 85.) insists that Spain had two distinct codes; one (Euric's) for the Goths only, the other (Alaric's) for the native or Romanized inhabitants. There is no foundation whatever for his hypothesis, which, on the contrary, is at variance with all, however little that all may be, we know of the subject.

possible to judge of the original relation between the codes of the two nations, as the Visigothic collection was afterwards altered, modified, and enlarged, by succeeding kings, whose names appear at the beginning or end of certain laws. Of these kings, those under whose reigns the greatest number of laws were made, are Leovigild, Chindaswind, Receswind, Wamba, and Ervigius.*

But as on a future occasion the Visigothic code will be examined in conjunction with the Fuero Juzgo, and the code of the Partidas, the particular provisions of the former will not here be further noticed, except in so far as they throw light on the state of Gothic society.

In adverting to that social state, as exhibited in the Latin original† of this celebrated code, we cannot fail to be struck with the national pride of the Goths: they alone were styled *nobiles*, while the rest of the community were *viliores*. Under the latter humiliating term were included not merely *servi* and *liberti*, or slaves and freedmen, but even the *ingenui*, or free-born, whatever might be their wealth or consideration; and to preserve the privileged caste uncontaminated, marriages were rigorously forbidden between the victors and the vanquished, until Receswind abolished the prohibition. Again, the slave is forbidden to ally himself with a free family; and if even the freedman, however rich or respected, should aspire to the honor of an alliance with any female by whom he has been enfranchised, he must return to his former state of slavery. Not only was the slave who presumed to marry a free woman put to death, but the free woman, who either married or sinned with a slave, was burnt at the stake with him. Again, the relative importance of the three classes, nobles, freemen, and slaves, was carefully graduated by the laws. For the same crime a greater punishment was awarded to the second than the first, and to the third than the second. It must not, however, be supposed that society in the Peninsula consisted only of the three classes just named: if these constituted the

* *Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon* (apud Florez España Sagrada, xiii. 446, &c.) S. Isidorus, *Historia de Regibus Gothorum*, p. 212. (apud eundem, tom. vi.) See also the *Rescriptum Alarici* (apud Masdeu, x. Illustracion, 5.), and the *Prologomena Lindenbrogii*, in *Codicem Legum Antiquarum*.

† This original is probably very defective as it appears in Lindinbrog, and in the third volume of the *Hispania Illustrata* of Schottus (Scott), the only editions of it we have yet seen. It has been but very recently published in Spain, together with the old Spanish version, under the title "*Fuero Juzgo en Latin y Castellano, cotejado con los mas Antiguas y Preciosos Codices, por la Real Academia Española; precede un Discurso de Don Manuel de Lardizabal y Uribe, sobre la Legislacion de los Visigodos, y Formacion del Fuero ó Libro de los Jueces, y su Version Castellana.*" Madrid, 1815, folio.

great bulk of the population, and were separated from each other by barriers almost impassable, there were others necessarily generated by the state of that society, whose lines of demarcation were less strongly drawn. For the most part these classes were the same with those of ancient Rome. There were nobles and plebeians, masters and slaves, patrons and freedmen: the nobles were divided into *primates* and *seniores*, corresponding with the ancient *senatores* and *equites*, and with the modern *grandees* and *caballeros*. Of slaves there were also various kinds, such as the *idonei* or *boni*, who appear not to have been much below our own domestic servants, except that their servitude in their master's house was perpetual; and the *viles*, a term sufficiently indicative of their humiliating condition. If a man violated a woman of the former class, he received a hundred stripes—the lash was the most common punishment in the Wisigothic laws—if she were *bona*; but if she were *vilis*, fifty only; and, in the same manner, if the offence were committed by a slave, his punishment varied according as he was *bonus* or *vilis*. Some were slaves *nati*, others *facti* by some misconduct of their own. Then we meet with the slaves of the court, who were persons of some estimation, and slaves of the church, who were employed in menial offices unbecoming the clergy. But the private slaves, such as followed no calling for their owner's profit, but were his personal attendants, were the most wretched: they were not amenable to the public tribunals without his express permission; he could punish them with stripes, or even torture them, at pleasure: the laws let him do what he thought fit with *his own*, prohibiting him only from taking the life, or cutting off the limbs, of his victims, and from dishonoring the females. Manumissions were in writing, and witnessed by a priest and two others: the act, however, was not irrevocable; for, if the freedman injured his patron in person, substance, or character, he could be brought before a tribunal, and again condemned to slavery. The *liberti* were classed into *idonei*, *viles*, &c. like the slaves: there were *liberti* of the court, of the church, and of individuals, exactly corresponding with the circumstances of their former condition. Both the freedmen and their children, and even their children's children, were bound, though free, to respect the patron: they could not sue either him or his descendants at the law; they could not dishonor him by marrying into his family; they could not give evidence against him in a court of justice; and they were obliged not only to honor, but to aid him whenever he required their assistance. Last of all were the *buccellarii*, who were ingenui, and who voluntarily engaged in the armed service of

a patron. Of whatever they gained, half went to him; in return, he was compelled, not only to maintain and protect them, but their children also, and to marry their daughters in a suitable manner.*

Whether such a state of society was enviable; whether laws of such a character are worthy the encomiums passed on them by Masdeu† and other bigoted writers,—bigoted, we mean, in favor of every thing native, and hostile to every thing foreign,—must be left to the reader's reflection.

If from the civil we pass to the military state of the country, we shall find that the Goths were one vast nation of soldiers, the words soldier and man being considered almost as synonymous. The obligation of service was imperative on all free-men; nor were the sons of the king admitted to his table until they had made their essay in arms. Slaves were also admitted to join the levies, since every owner was required to take with him to the field one-tenth of the number he possessed. All Goths capable of bearing arms, whether lay or clerical, were subject to military duty; and heavy were the penalties with which he was visited who absented or hid himself to escape the conscription: if he were a noble filling some high employment, he was deposed and banished; if a common noble, he was beaten and branded; the officer who for a bribe excused any one from the service, was compelled to pay four times the amount of the money he had received, besides a heavy fine to the king. The captain who forsook his post in time of war was beheaded; or, if he took sanctuary in a church, he was fined in six hundred crowns, to be divided among the soldiers of his company. By a law of Wamba, when any district was invaded, if all the inhabitants of that and the neighboring districts, in a circle of one hundred miles, did not hasten to repel the invasion, the punishment was even more severe: if it were a duke, or count, or bishop, who neglected to arm, he was banished, and his property confiscated; if one of inferior dignity, whether layman or churchman, he was branded, and degraded to the condition of a slave. The severity of these laws proves that they had been frequently evaded; that habits of settled life had destroyed the martial disposition of the Goths; that riches had transformed them into an unwarlike people. The royal guard and the soldiers of the fortresses appear to have constituted the only regular or permanent army of the monarchy. When levies were wanted, messengers went from town

* Codex Legis Wisigothorum, passim.

† This code, says he (xiv. 82.), "es el mejor entre todos los Godos nacionales." He vindicates its very severities, and it is full of them; and plainly intimates that it is superior to the code of every nation under Heaven!

to town to rouse the people; and the *servi dominici*, or royal serfs, enrolled such as were to form the new army. Provisions were found for these levies by the counts of the towns; but we nowhere find that pay was added: they were indeed sufficiently remunerated by the sale as slaves of all the captives whom they took in war. The command in chief rested with the king, and, in his absence, with some duke, (sometimes a count, as lieutenant-general,) who was called *præpositus hostia*, or chief of the host. The *tyuphad*, the next officer in dignity, commanded a number of men equivalent to a regiment. Each regiment was divided into two battalions, and each battalion (500 men) obeyed a *quingentarius*: a battalion had five companies, each under a *centenarius*; and each of these was subdivided into piquets of ten men, conducted by a *decanus*. The *armonarii* formed the commissariat. But there was a third officer, who has no corresponding rank in modern warfare; this was the *compulsor*, probably a *servus dominicus*, who forced men to become recruits. All truces, parleys, treaties of peace, &c. appear to have been brought about by the martial prelates, who not merely accompanied but fought in the army.*

But in the present chapter the most extensive and by far the most interesting place must be assigned to the CHURCH of Spain.

The hierarchy of the Spanish church under the Goths differs in one or two important respects from that of the first four centuries. The pope was acknowledged as supreme head of the church; and metropolitan sees were formed which exercised an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the suffragan bishops. The papal authority seems to have been exercised in four ways:—1st, In remitting the pall (*pallium*) to such metropolitans as he considered fit for the honor; 2d, in deciding on appeals from the ecclesiastical courts; 3d, in sending pontifical judges into Spain to decide for him, where the nature of the disputes which arose could be best ascertained by an eye-witness; 4th, in nominating legates to watch over the discipline of the national church. The cases, however, in which these prerogatives were exercised were extremely rare, probably through regard to the ancient independence of the Spanish bishops, who, during the first four centuries, were vehemently opposed to any appeal which involved the supremacy of the pope, and who, even when induced to acknowledge that supremacy, would not permit dispensations to be

* *Codex Legis Wisigothorum*, passim. *Marin, Historia de la Milicia Española*, tom. i. epoca 3. *Idatii Chronicon*, p. 19. *Berganza, Antigüedades* part ii.

procured from Rome. So far were the Gothic prelates from acknowledging the infallibility of the pontiff,—that most monstrous of all doctrines,—that they more than once disputed his authority in points of faith. When Benedict II. censured some expressions in a letter of St. Julian, as contrary to the Catholic doctrine, though that letter had been formally approved in the fourteenth council of Toledo, the indignant prelates to the number of seventy-two again assembled, and drew up an apology, in which the objections of his holiness were severely handled. Not the least striking fact attending this dispute is, that the successor of Benedict awarded to the Spanish church the honor of the victory.*

In the ancient Spanish church, as observed in a former chapter, the bishops were equal in dignity, and the most aged presided in the national councils. But during the domination of the Goths, metropolitans, possessing the jurisdiction though not the title of archbishops, occur. This novelty seems to have arisen from the practice of the popes addressing in their letters the prelates who held the capital sees of each province as metropolitans of that province. Towards the close of the fifth century we find one for every province, in conformity with the long-established usage of the universal church. The duties of this new dignitary were, 1st, To convoke provincial councils; 2d, to consecrate the suffragan bishops; 3d, to appoint some one suffragan to act in case of his absence; 4th, to hold a court for the decision in the first instance of disputes relating to ecclesiastical persons or affairs; 5th, to watch over the conduct of bishops and rectors of parishes.†

The number of bishops subject to these metropolitans was at least eighty, as may be collected from their signatures in the national councils. By the canons they were not to leave their cathedrals without the express summons of their metropolitan or king, or unless when they paid an annual visit of inspection to all the churches of their diocese: in these cases their places were supplied by a vicar-general. Translations from one diocese to another were not unfrequent; an abuse which cannot be too loudly condemned in any church, and which was condemned by the Nicene council. Over the rec-

* Masdeu, *España Goda*, xi. 145—167. The dispute is to be gathered from the *Liber Apologeticus* of St. Julian (apud Lorenzana, *Collectio Sanctorum Patrum Ecclesie Toletane*, tom. ii. p. 77.), from the Acts of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Councils of Toledo (apud Aguirre, tom. ii.), and from the twenty-first epistle of St. Braulio (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. xxx. p. 348.). It related to the three substances in the nature of Christ, *deity*, *human body*, and *human soul*, in contradiction to the disciples of Apollinaris, who denied that Christ had the *third*, and to the Manicheans, who denied him the *second*. No wonder the poor pope was puzzled.

† Masdeu, xi. 167—182.

tors (curates) the bishops had an irresponsible power; they could remove or displace them at pleasure. Some cases occur, but very rare, in which two benefices were held by the same rector, an abuse still greater than the former. Lay patronage existed: he who founded and endowed a church was reasonably permitted to nominate the minister, provided that minister had the necessary qualifications; but in this period the *jus patronatus* was not hereditary in the family of the founder. To each cathedral were attached two houses; one, the residence of the clergy who officiated in it; the other, for the education of such youths as were designed for holy orders. Both the cathedrals and the parish churches were in general well endowed; for in addition to the tithes, which appear to have been instituted about the time the Gothic court abandoned Arianism for orthodoxy, there were a multitude of voluntary offerings. What remained beyond what was required for the support of the bishops and clergy, was usually expended in hospitality and in alms, a virtue in which the Spanish clergy have never been surpassed by any people on earth.*

With respect to clerical continency, it remained very nearly the same under the Goths as under the Romans. The ostiarius, or door-keeper; the acolyte, who held the lamp at the sacrifice of the mass; the exorcist, who expelled unclean spirits; the psalmist, or leader of the choir; the lector, who read in a loud voice the lessons of the day, and sometimes explained them; and the subdeacon, who received the offerings of the faithful, and who kept the vestments, the ornaments, and sanctified vessels, in readiness for the mass, might marry once with a virgin. But all these, if we except perhaps the first, who, though classed in the hierarchy, could scarcely belong to it, were in minor orders; nor could they be raised to the major orders as deacons or presbyters, as archdeacons or archpriests, much less as bishops, who, if married, did not separate from their wives, and for ever abstain ab usu matrimonii. But the rulers of the church had often the mortification to witness instances of clerical incontinency, the chief if not the only vice of the body. The tenth council of Toledo decreed that the offending priest, if incorrigible, should be confined during life in a monastery, that the partner of his guilt should be sold for a slave, and that the offspring of such connexions should for ever remain in the same degraded condition in the very church in which the father officiated.†

The duties of the clergy were sufficiently onerous. *Masses,*

* Authorities, the canons of the councils, national and provincial, and the laws of the Wisigothic code, *passim*.

† Same authorities.

matins, and vespers, the visitation of the sick, the education of youth, the instruction of the ignorant, the hearing of confessions, and the administration of the sacraments, allowed them no leisure for secular pursuits. A considerable portion of their time, too, would probably be occupied in receiving such as sought sanctuary from the vengeance of the laws. At first the privilege extended only to the altar and choir; it was soon amplified to the walls of the church; and eventually to thirty paces outside the walls. If a homicide sought sanctuary, his life was saved; but he was delivered over to the judge, and enslaved, scourged, or fined, according to his station in life. When a debtor fled from his creditors, the latter were called together by the clergy, and compelled to forgive the debt, or allow a convenient time for its payment, or receive a composition for it. Such, too, was the case with regard to menial offenders; and heavy penalties were exacted from such as dared to lay forcible hands on the fugitive. This privilege was doubtless subject to abuse; but when we consider that it was always the powerless, often the oppressed, and sometimes the innocent, who availed themselves of it, the good may be fairly assumed as more than counterbalancing the evil. Sanctuaries were never intended for hardened criminals: such were invariably surrendered on the demand of justice; and if their lives were spared, their punishment was sure to be severe. Such, too, as took refuge with arms in their hands forfeited the advantages of the asylum. Surely there is something affecting in an institution which made the house of God provide not only for the salvation of the soul, but for that of the body.*

Another privilege of the clergy originated in kindred motives of humanity. If a poor man failed to obtain justice from the secular tribunal, he could lay his complaint before that of the bishop, who could force the unjust judge to give a more equitable decision. By Recared the judges and officers of the public revenues were commanded to submit their accounts annually before a provincial synod. The check, indeed, was mutual, as the secular magistrates in their turn were authorized to watch over the conduct of the clergy. These episcopal courts, however, were chiefly occupied in deciding on the disputes of the clergy themselves. There was one in every diocese, and a higher one in every province: the former was for all ecclesiastics below the rank of bishops; the latter was

* Codex Legis Wisigothorum, lib. iii. vi. et ix. passim. Concilia Toletana, vi. et xi. passim. "Belle et touchante institution, qui fait trouver aux fugitifs le salut du corps et de l'âme dans les maisons de Dieu."—*Dcpping, Histoire Générale de l'Espagne*, ii. 390.

for disputes among the bishops themselves; and a metropolitan could lay a complaint before either his brother metropolitan or a national council. Appeals, too, even from the humblest of the clergy, could be successively carried upwards through the episcopal and metropolitan courts before these venerable assemblies.*

The ecclesiastical councils were, as in other countries, of a threefold description, *diocesan*, *provincial*, and *national*. The first, which were convoked by the bishop, were held once at least every year, and were attended by the abbots, presbyters, deacons, &c. of the diocese. The second, which were convened by the metropolitan, were held at first half-yearly, but in the sequel annually, and were attended by all the bishops, many of the presbyters and deacons, and some influential seculars, who were present to carry into effect the decisions of the council. The third were convoked by the king, not at any stated time, but whenever the interests either of the church or state rendered their junction necessary. They were attended by all the bishops and metropolitans, many abbots, presbyters, and deacons, with the dukes, counts, and wardens (gardiñeros) of the realm, and the chief officers of the court. At first, the bishops only were permitted to vote in the national councils; subsequently the abbots and other dignitaries were permitted not only to advise, but to give their suffrages: but the secular dignitaries were not allowed either deliberation or vote where the subject under discussion was not strictly of a temporal nature. In the collection of Spanish Visigothic councils, we find nineteen national, all of which, with the exception of one at Braga, and another at Saragossa, were held at Toledo. Of the provincial councils, the acts of twenty-one only have descended to posterity. The diocesan were too local in their objects to occupy our attention.†

The ceremonies observed at the opening of a national council may gratify a passing curiosity. At break of day, the ostiarii took their station at the entrance of the cathedral, and suffered none but the bishops to enter first. When these had taken their seats according to the seniority of their consecration, the presbyters, abbots, &c. entered, and took their places behind the prelates. Next a small number of deacons were admitted, but they were not allowed to sit; they remained standing directly in front of the episcopal bench. Lastly, ad-

* Sanctus Isidorus, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis: (in Opera, lib. ii. p. 420.) Codex Legis Visigothorum, lib. i. vi. et xii. passim. Concilium Tarraconense, cap. x. Concilium Toletanum, iii. et iv. passim.

† Aguirre, Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ, &c. edited by Calsiani, tom. iii. iv.

mission was granted to some of the more meritorious of the laity, especially of such notaries as were to register the acts. The doors were then closed, and the archdeacon of the cathedral cried aloud, "Oremus!" All immediately fell on their knees and prayed in silence, until one of the elder bishops repeated aloud certain short supplications, and the rest responded "Amen!" The archdeacon then cried, "Surgite, fratres!" when all arose, and took their places as before. Next followed the confession of faith, according to the Constantinopolitan symbol and the acceptance of the first four œcumenical councils. A deacon, invested with the alb, then read from the book of canons such as were of chief importance, such especially as related to the subject for which the council was convened. One of the metropolitans now addressed the assembly, exhorting it to discuss with impartiality and moderation the subjects which might be introduced to its notice. At the conclusion of this harangue, the king, accompanied by his chief nobles, entered the church, knelt before the altar, and prayed in silence. Then turning to the ecclesiastics, he commended himself to their prayers, and exhorted them to conduct their deliberations with due regard to the principles of justice, and to the ecclesiastical constitutions. He then turned towards the east, while the clergy, who again knelt, prayed for him. Soon after he left the edifice, the bishops declared the council adjourned to the following day. This and the two succeeding days were passed in fasting, praying, or in settling disputed points of religion. It was not until the fourth day, that the real business of the council commenced.*

Whether the sacraments of the Wisigothic church were six or seven, may admit of much controversy. As extreme unction is not even hinted at in any one of the numerous documents which have survived the wreck of time, the orthodox Spaniards are driven to the alternative of believing either that their forefathers were ignorant of its use—a most heretical supposition!—or that it was included under the head of some other sacrament, probably that of penance as assumed by the dying.† Six sacraments, however, are distinctly mentioned, their nature and uses explained. *Baptism*, as observed on a

* Concilium Bracarense, i. cap. 5. et 6. Idem, ii. in præfatione. Concilium Toletanum, iv. cap. 4.; also the viii. ix. xiii. and xvii. passim. See Ordo de Celebrando Concilio, apud Loaisa, Collectio Conciliorum Hispaniæ.

† "Es mucho de estrañar en esta materia, que en tantos documentos como tenemos de la España Romana y Goda, por siete siglos enteros, no se halle nombrado una sola vez el sacramento de la extrema unción."—*Masdeu*, xi. 264. For his freedom in expressing this fact, the author was furiously assailed by a host of zealous ecclesiastics, some of whom represented him as a *heretic, devil*, &c. In vol. 18. he defends himself with much

former occasion, was administered by a bishop or presbyter. Respecting this sacrament and *confirmation*, nothing striking is to be found, except that those who received both were anointed with oil, and that in the former one immersion only was practised, in opposition to the Arians, who, from their belief in the three divine natures, immersed thrice. But the Spanish prelates did not recollect that by so doing they imitated another sect of heretics, the Sabellians, who confounded the three persons into one sole and indivisible. Such as had received both sacraments, whether they were infants or adults, were immediately admitted to the *Lord's supper*, which appears to have been administered under one kind only, and which certainly consisted in unleavened bread.* Presbyters and deacons received it at the foot of the altar, the minor clergy within the choir, and the seculars at a still greater distance from the place of consecration: the laity were evidently not considered holy enough to approach nearer. In those days, as well as at the present, communion at Easter was universally obligatory; but some of the more devout received it daily. These, how-

ability, but as a good Catholic,—as one bound to believe what the universal church teaches, and, therefore, in the sacrament of extreme unction: he declares that he had never any doubt as to the existence of the sacrament, and that he is sure it must be included in one of the others. In fact, though in Italy, he did not find it exactly safe to persevere in the expressions of his doubts. An English Protestant may write more boldly, and infer that no such sacrament ever existed in Gothic or Roman Spain.

* — “So saying, on the head
Of Julian solemnly he laid his hands;
Then to the altar tremblingly he turn'd,
And took the bread, and breaking it, pursued,—
'Julian! receive from me the Bread of Life!'
In silence reverently the count partook
The reconciling rite, and to his lips
Roderick then held the consecrated cup.”

Southey's Roderick, ii. 144.

And in a note on this passage, the author adds:—“It is now admitted by the best informed of the Roman writers themselves, that for 1000 years no other than common or leavened bread was used in the Eucharist. The wafer was introduced about the eleventh century; and, as far down as the twelfth century, the people were admitted to communicate in both kinds.” p. 232.

With respect to one point we are certain, with respect to the other we believe this excellent author is in the wrong. That unleavened bread was used by the Wisigoths is indubitable, from an epistle of St. Isidore to the archdeacon Redemptus, who consulted him on the very subject; and who took occasion to remark the difference between the eastern and western churches, the Greeks consecrating *leavened*, the Latins *unleavened*, bread. (See *Opera Sancti Isidori*, tom. i. *Epistola ad Redemptum*.) That the *cup* was not administered at the same time is not so clear; but from the tenor of the first canon in the acts of the third council of Braga, which condemns the notion that the host should be steeped in the chalice, we have no doubt that the wine was withheld from the laity.

Whether certain points of doctrine are or are not founded in the Scriptures, is no concern of the historian: all that he has to do is religiously to follow his guides; to suppress or distort nothing through partiality.

ever, were unmarried,—for with the married, fasting, and an abstinence of some days from the usu matrimonii, always preceded this solemn act. Of penance, whether sacramental or ceremonial, enough has been said on a former occasion.* This was obligatory; but there was also a voluntary penance of individuals, who, when in extreme sickness, assumed the monastic habit and tonsure, and thereby engaged to live as monks during the rest of their lives, should God restore them to health.† In married persons, this engagement for ever destroyed the *debitum conjugale*: they were compelled, not, indeed, to reside within the walls of a monastery, but certainly to shut themselves up alike from the business and pleasures of the world, and to wear the habit and tonsure as irrevocable signs of their vocation. In *holy orders*, the minor might be conferred at any age; the subdeacon was made at twenty, the deacon at twenty-five, the presbyter or bishop at thirty years. The qualifications were, first, freedom—for slavery was an insuperable bar; second, learning and piety. The disqualifications were numerous: soldiers, officers of the palace, men who had been twice married, or had married a widow, public penitents, the possessed, the branded, and such as were remarkable for any bodily imperfection, were excluded from the ministry of the altar. When ordained, the ostiary received the keys, the acolyte a lamp, the exorcist, psalmist, and reader, their corresponding books; the subdeacon, the chalice; the deacon, an alb and stole; the presbyters, a stole and cassock; the bishop, a ring and staff; as symbols of their respective duties. *Matrimony*, the last of the sacraments mentioned in the Wisigothic canons, was considered of unrivalled importance among a people so tenacious of their privileges, and so jealous of the purity of their blood. As before observed, marriages between the victors and the vanquished were rigorously prohibited, until Recesswind repealed the obnoxious law. The damsel could not give her hand to any one, unless he were not merely approved, but selected for her, by her parents; or, if an orphan, by her natural guardians; and, if she married contrary to their wishes, she not only forfeited all right to her share of her future property, but both she and her husband became slaves,—the slaves of the man for whom her relatives had intended her. The ceremony of betrothing was very simple; it consisted in the lover's placing a ring on the fourth finger of his bride's left hand,‡ and in either repeating a few words before witnesses,

* See book i. chap. i. p. 90.

† See Appendix F, relating to the tonsure of Wamba.

‡ The *Fuero Juzgo* (lib. vii. tit. 1.) says, that a *kiss* was given on the occasion by both parties; but no mention of such a circumstance is to be found in the Latin Codex.

or signing a written pledge of the mutual contract: but that of the marriage—which was to follow in two years after the espousals—was celebrated in the church with great pomp. The bride was always covered with a veil, indicative of her virgin modesty. After the benediction, the priest tied the couple with a white and colored riband; the one color emblematical of purity, the other of fecundity. Through respect for the sanctity of the sacrament, and for the priestly benison, the *debitum conjugale* was not to be paid until the following day.*

The laws concerning marriage, &c. may not improperly be added to this list of the Wisigothic sacraments. Unlike the custom of modern times, the dowry was given by the bridegroom, not by the guardians of the bride, and was carefully preserved by them. It could not exceed one tenth part of his substance; but at the expiration of a year from the marriage, either party was at liberty to make any present, however valuable, to the other. Of this tenth the wife could claim no more than one fourth: the rest was for the children, and, if none, it returned to her husband's house. The impediments to matrimony were numerous. 1. The male was always to have the advantage of years over the female. 2. He or she who had been betrothed to any one could not marry another before the expiration of two years: if this prohibition was disregarded, slavery was the doom of both. 3. He who forced a woman could not marry her. 4. If a Christian married a Hebrew, both were banished to different places. 5. The monastic orders, public or devotional penitents, virgins veiled and vowed, were naturally excluded from this sacrament; so also were kindred to the sixth degree. A married couple could at any time separate by mutual agreement; but they could not return to each other, much less to remarry. It was only in case of adultery, or when the husband committed the most abominable of sins, or when he wished his wife to commit adultery, that the *vinculum matrimonii* was declared for ever dissolved, and she was at liberty to marry another man. Adultery was reputed so enormous a crime among the Wisigoths, that the person who committed it became the slave of the injured partner. If a husband caught his wife in *flagrante delicto*, he could, with perfect impunity, destroy both her and her paramour—a permission of which a modern Spaniard would not be slow to avail himself. When the actual guilt was not witnessed, every means, not excepting tortures, were used to arrive at its knowledge. Simple fornication,—that is, between two unmarried persons of ingenuous birth,—was left unpun-

* Authorities, acts of councils, with the comments of the jurists, *passim*. Codex Legis Wisigothorum, *passim*.

ished; the maiden could not prostitute her person in the hope of marrying the accomplice of her guilt, where no law existed to compel him to take her. But as, even in this case, the temptation might be dangerous, the father had power to kill his child, the brother his sister, when surprised in the offence under her father's roof. If a slave forced a free woman, he was burnt at the stake; if a free man committed the crime, he received 100 stripes, and became the slave of the injured female; and if she afterwards married him, she was reduced to the same condition, dependent on her next heir. If one slave violated another, he received 200 lashes; if a free man violated her, he was punished by fifty stripes, and by a fine to her owner. The free maiden who sinned with another's slave, like him, received 100 stripes; if with her own slave, the punishment, as before observed, was stripes and death for both. The freeman who sinned with a slave in her master's house received 100 or 50 lashes, according to her quality; if in any other house, he escaped punishment; and the blame fell, either on her for putting herself in his way, or on her master for not keeping an observant eye over her. The public prostitute was punished with 300 stripes, and banished; if she returned to the same place, she was deprived of whatever substance she possessed, and condemned to become the slave of some poor man. The fathers who permitted their daughters, the owners who encouraged their slaves to such a life, were likewise severely punished; and the pimps were reduced to slavery. Abduction was visited with chastisements still more signal. If a freeman carried off a free woman, and violated her, himself and his property were for ever placed at her disposal; if the greater crime were not committed, half his property became hers. If a slave carried off a free woman, he was put to death; if the subject of the abduction were in the same condition as himself, he was beaten, and branded in the forehead. If a brother connived at the abduction of his sister, he lost half his substance, and received forty stripes. If a master permitted his slave to carry off a woman, he was to be chastised as if the crime were committed by himself. If the female were affianced, the future bridegroom had power over the offender's property, and even over her father's, if the latter had connived at the crime.*

Under the Goths, Spain was no more exempt from heresies than she had been under the Romans. The first is that of Nestorius, respecting the mysterious union of the divine and human natures in Christ; but it was speedily repressed. The

* Codex Legis Wisigothorum, in a multitude of places.

Manicheans and Priscillianists were not more successful; both Arians and Catholics united in banishing them: extirpation was reserved for later times. After the accession of Recared, when the Catholic religion became the only one in Spain, severe penalties were decreed against all who presumed to differ from the established faith. In the reign of Chintilla, and in a council held at Toledo (the sixth), a decree was made that thenceforth none but Catholics should be allowed to remain in the country; and all succeeding kings were to swear that the Jews, the only misbelievers remaining, should not be tolerated. By a subsequent law this odious intolerance was more clearly and fatally defined. Under the penalty of confiscation of property and perpetual banishment, it prohibited all men, of whatever condition, whether natives or resident foreigners, ever to call in question, either in public or private, the holy Catholic and apostolic faith, the evangelic institutions, the definitions of the fathers, the decrees of the church, whether ancient or recent, the sacraments, or any thing whatever which that church held as holy. After these decrees the poor Jews could expect little mercy; they had never, indeed, enjoyed much security since the Roman domination. Sisebert, Sisenand, Chintilla, Chindaswind, Receswind, Wamba, and Ervigius were the most eager rivals in the race of persecution. They decreed that the Jews should be baptized; that such as were baptized should not be allowed to have Christian servants; that they should observe Easter Sunday according to the Christian rite; that they should respect the matrimonial impediments already noticed; that they should eat whatever Christians ate, however solemnly forbidden in their own law; that they should neither read nor receive into their houses any book contrary to the Christian religion; that they should not be admissible to any civil offices; that their evidence should not be received in a court of justice, unless ample testimony were borne to their moral habits; that when travelling they should make their confession of faith, and exhibit an episcopal passport at every town they entered; that they should spend every Sunday in company with Christians, who should then witness their devotions; and that they should always be present whenever the catechism was repeated or expounded. But as, in spite of all these tyrannical measures, the sincerity, if not the conduct of the forced converts was naturally suspicious, two successive confessions of faith, expressed in the most awful terms, were framed for them. In these confessions they were compelled to swear, in the most solemn and public manner, by the great Incommunicable Name and Attributes, that they utterly abhorred, and from their souls for ever renounced, all the rites, ceremonies, customs, and so-

lemnities they had previously respected and observed; that they would thenceforward live in the most holy faith of Christ, their Creator and Redeemer; that they would observe all the rites of God's church, and shun even the most distant form of intercourse with Jews. This oppressed nation was, in the sequel, righteously revenged. Who can blame the readiness with which they received the Mohammedans, and the zeal with which they endeavored to overthrow the most accursed government that ever existed in Europe?*

Such is a very general outline of the condition and character of the Wisigothic secular church. Something now remains to be said of the monastic orders, as well as of the more distinguished churchmen, who, whether secular or regular, flourished during this remarkable period. It must, however, be first premised, that they who then fled from the contagious vices of society, and sought in retirement the grace of superior sanctity, were distinguished into three classes:—the hermits, who took up their abode in the uninhabited places; the anchorets, who inhabited a cell attached to a monastery, without the slightest intercourse with their brethren; and the cœnobites, who lived in the communion of the cloister.

Under the Roman domination, as observed on a former occasion,† no monasteries were known in Spain; but widows and virgins, even in their father's house, could consecrate themselves to God by vows of chastity, of abstaining from pleasure, and living retired from the bustle of the world. The former wore a black, the latter a white veil, in sign of their vocation. The penalties which followed the violation of their vows of chastity have been sufficiently exposed on the occasion referred to. Under the Goths the same custom existed, but not to the same extent, as religious houses were established for the reception of such of either sex as resolved to escape from the temptations of life.

Before the establishment of monasteries, men who aspired to superior sanctity fled to the solitudes or deserts of the kingdom, where they alternately cultivated the ground, pored over books of devotion, and meditated on the example of preceding hermits. Their number was considerable until the beginning of the sixth century, when monasteries were first opened in Spain. But though they thus passed from the her-

* *Codex Legis Wisigothorum*, passim. Isidorus Pacensis (apud Florez, vii. 285.). Sanctus Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopus *Historia de Regibus Gothorum* (apud eundem, tom. vi. p. 474—506.). *Concilia Toletana*, iii. iv. vii. x. xii. xvi. xvii. passim. Masdeu, xi. 136—141.

† *Book i. chap. ii. p. 92.*

mitage to the cloister, they lived at first without fixed rule, dependent only on the will of their diocesan, or of their immediate superior. But after the foundation of a monastery in Portugal by St. Martin, and of another in Valencia by St. Donatus (about 560 and 570), the first who subjected their monks to fixed rules, religious houses were amazingly multiplied, all governed by similar constitutions.*

The famous rule of St. Benedict is beyond doubt the most ancient ever used in Spain, but the precise period of its introduction cannot be ascertained: we know that it was in full vigor early in the seventh century. By this rule a noviciate of three months was imposed on the converts,—such were all, however pious, termed, who betook themselves to the cloister;—and the profession signed by the new brother. The occupations of the monk were of a fourfold description: religious exercises, meditation, devotional reading, and bodily labor. Six hours every day were assigned to the cultivation of the field, or to some kind of handicraft, and the produce of his industry was sold by the steward or prefect, and applied to the common support of the establishment. Three hours were devoted to spiritual exercises, and three to eating and rest. The twelve hours of the night were similarly divided, between sleep, prayer, and meditation. The ordinary food of the cenobites was roots, vegetables, and fruit: animal food was permitted at festivals only. One meal, with a slight refectation at breakfast, was all allowed, except in the summer months, when dinner was added,—probably because the labors of the field were then more oppressive. During the solitary meal one of the brothers read aloud some portion of Scripture, or from some other edifying book. Three dishes and three cups of wine were the ordinary allowance, except on fast-days, when bread and water, once in twenty-four hours, was the only diet. The monastic habit was of course woollen—linen was prohibited as a luxury; the beds were hard, the discipline frequent and severe.†

Such were religious houses in their early stage; distinguished alike for useful industry, for learning, for piety, and the exercise of the social virtues. And even at a later period,—when the monks from laymen were transformed into clergy, when allowed by their diocesans to build churches, to confess

* Such as persisted in remaining hermits were beheld with suspicion by the bishops. The fourth council of Toledo ordered all to be forced into the cloister; but the evil was too powerful to be rooted out.

† St. Isidore, *Regulæ Monachorum* (Opera, tom. ii. p. 535, &c.). Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, tom. i. prefatio. Cassianus, *De Institutis Cenobiorum*, lib. i. cap. 4—10. Masdeu, xi. 302.

and preach, and consequently when unable to occupy themselves much in the cultivation of the ground,—it may be doubted whether they did not amply return to society the benefits they received from it. If they no longer lived by the labor of their hands, but on the endowments of the rich, they were active clergymen in their own immediate neighborhoods; they exercised hospitality without grudging; they fed the poor; they clothed the naked; they instructed the ignorant; they kept alive the lamp of knowledge, the rays of which, by their scholastic establishments (and they were the most usual instructors of youth), they distributed over a whole kingdom. Whoever has any knowledge of them, even at the present day, when the fervor of religious zeal can be no longer expected to glow with its original intensity, also knows that, generally speaking, they are blessings to the surrounding peasantry; that if some portion of their revenues be expended in good cheer, a still greater is laid out in charity towards the poor, and in the encouragement of learning. It is indeed impossible to account for the prejudice entertained in this country against monastic institutions, many of which are still the best and cheapest seminaries in the Roman Catholic world.

The author of the present compendium is not the only English Protestant who has experienced their ever-ready hospitality, and been instructed by the conversation of their inmates. The wisest and most learned men he has ever known, men who may justly be considered as prodigies of erudition, have been the unostentatious inmates of the cloister; men fond of literature for its own sake, because placed beyond the reach of the ordinary incentives to study,—worldly profit or applause. But the literary benefits of such institutions are far inferior to the religious blessings they afford. In extensive populous parishes, where the secular curate is overwhelmed by a multiplicity of duties, the monks are the chief teachers of religion, as well as of human lore. That faith must be bad indeed which is not better than none; and however we may differ in some points from the Catholic religion, we cannot deny that, on the whole, it is adapted to promote the great interests of morality. We may reasonably doubt whether the restorers of a purer one—of that contained in the Protestant church of England—have acted wisely in banishing from their system an institution, to which thousands in more advanced age would be willing to retire, for the awful purpose of making their peace with God.

Under the Arian kings of the Suevi and the Wisigoths, (and this heresy continued 96 years in Galicia, and 125 in the

rest of Spain,) the Catholic faith can boast of few martyrs, but of numerous confessors. The latter were chiefly prelates who, on refusing to embrace the Arian doctrines, were dispossessed of their sees, driven into exile, or made to endure the greatest persecutions. Of the former none are sufficiently striking to deserve a place here, though some account of the famous virgin martyr of Santaren will be found in the Appendix.*

But the saints, who, whether confessors or allowed to pass their days in tranquillity, must not be wholly passed over in silence. Of these one of the most famous was St. Æmilianus, or, as he is commonly named, St. Millan, who lived in the time of Leovigild, and whose actions and miracles were written by St. Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, in the following century.† This man was originally a shepherd, but in his twentieth year he turned hermit, and passed, we are told, forty years in the desert, partly under the spiritual guidance of another hermit, St. Felix, and partly in a separate cell. The fame of his sanctity was at length spread over the kingdom,—“for how,” asks his biographer, “could a city placed on a hill be hid?”—until the bishop of Tarazona compelled him to leave his solitude, and to take the care of souls in the church of Berga. The charity of St. Millan towards the poor brought on him the hatred of his associate clergy, who longed to engross for their own use the revenues of the church. They accused him before the bishop as one who dissipated the ecclesiastical revenues; and he was deprived of his cure. Being thus released from his clerical duties, Millan joyfully returned to his solitude in the mountains of Rioja, where he lived to an advanced age, and died in all the odor of lazy sanctity. During his last years, however, great numbers of the devout repaired to his cell: some, to profit without interruption by his instruction, took up their abode in his neighborhood; and some of his female votaries founded a nunnery near the chapel of his hermitage.—St. Prudentius (not the poet of that name), a native of Alava, was also ambitious of eremitical holiness. At the tender age of fourteen he left his father's house, and proceeded towards the wild Sierras near the banks of the Ebro. His object was to find out the retreat of the hermit Saturius, by whose instructions he hoped to attain the same virtues. At length, says the legend, he perceived the holy man in front of the cave; but there lay a deep and rapid

* See Appendix O.

† The miracles of this saint, as fabricated by St. Braulio, have been characteristically versified by Berceo, archpriest of Hita, and inserted in the *Collecion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores al Siglo xv.*, by Sanchez.

stream between them, which any other than he would have feared to pass; but calling upon God, he leaped into the stream, and, to the great marvel of the hermit, passed it without so much as wetting his clothes. This miracle convinced Satrius that Heaven had sent him a teacher instead of a pupil; and he bowed before the astonished youth. Seven years did *Vendenbicus* abide there, until the hermit's death, when, having closed the mouth of the cave, he went to the neighboring city of Calahorra, with the resolution of imparting to others the graces which he had received. By the bishop of that place he was ordained, and he was also greatly promoted to the see of Tarazona, which dignity he retained until his death. Of course, such a one could not disappear without some miraculous manifestation of heavenly favor. He died, we are told, at Osma, as he was returning to Tarazona. In vain did his attendant clergy endeavor to convey his corpse to that city; the litter or bier on which it was placed would not move one foot so long as their hands were on it; but the moment it was left to itself, away it went, "up hill and down dale," over the mountainous range between Osma and Logrono, crossed the little brook Licia, ascended a hill, and stopped before the mouth of a cave,—the same, no doubt, where his morning of life had been spent! Here a church was built, and afterwards a monastery, in honor of St. Vincent. Then we have St. Fructuosus, who was so teased with the visits of thousands from all parts of Spain, that he secretly left his monks, and plunged into the heart of the mountains, to pass his days in tranquil meditation. In vain: his monks were directed to his retreat by a flock of crows; and he was forced to return to the world, to fill successively the sees of Dumium and Braga. Next comes the virgin St. Benedicta, who preferred the desert in the immediate vicinity of St. Fructuosus, to a palace with the noble Goth, her affianced husband; who firmly rejected the entreaties and menaces of the warden; and who subsequently became the superior of a house containing four-score nuns.*

But most of the national saints may be included in the list of authors, the chief of whom must be briefly noticed. And first, as to historians. Among these the most ancient was the historian *Orosius*; a native, probably, of Braga. Being persecuted by the Arian Vandals, he left Spain, sure, as he observed, of finding everywhere his country and faith (the orthodox Spaniards were spread over the Christian world). Having

* Morales, *Cronica General de España*, tom. ii. Ferreras, *Histoire Générale d'Espagne*, by Hermilly, tom. ii. Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii.

landed in Africa, he went to visit St. Augustine, whose fame was well known to him. The African bishop received him with readiness, instructed him in the Christian doctrines, and, to finish him in the study, advised him to visit St. Jerome in Palestine, the greatest of the doctors. He took up his abode at Bethlehem, shunning all society but that of his master. On one occasion, however, he exposed, in presence of the bishop of Jerusalem and other divines, assembled to oppose the heresy of Pelagius, the errors of that celebrated man. On his return to Africa, he was employed by St. Augustine to combat the notion—a notion then very general among the Pagans—that the miseries of the world had been occasioned by Christianity. Accordingly, he composed, in seven books, his *History of the World*, from the creation to the reign of Wallia; relating, in chronological order, the assassinations, plagues, famines, earthquakes, wars, and every other species of calamity to which man is subject; and thereby proved that the condition of the world was not worse since the time of Christ than it had been before. This work, the portion of which nearest to the author's time is very valuable, was finished in 419. When or where Orosius died is unknown.—*Idatius*, a bishop of Galicia, in the fifth century (of what see is unknown), wrote a meager, and, we may add, a stupid chronicle; yet, as much of it relates to his own country and times, it is valuable, as containing facts not elsewhere to be found.—*Joannes Biclarensis*, or John, abbot of Valclara, and afterwards bishop of Gerona, continued the chronicle of Idatius to the year 590. *Maximus* bishop of Saragossa wrote a brief history of the Goths, which has unfortunately perished. But the greatest historian of these times, and indeed the greatest luminary of the Wisigothic church, is *St. Isidore*. This extraordinary man owed his education to his brother Leander, of whom notice will shortly be taken. His application to study was intense, and his attainments wonderfully diversified; too much so, indeed, to be deep or accurate. Like our Bede, he wrote on almost every thing, and on nothing well, if compared with the progress of modern science; but on every thing well, if compared with the state of knowledge in his own times. His most famous work is the *Origines*, or *Etymologies*, in five books, which were finished by his disciple St. Braulio. It is in reality an encyclopædia, comprehending all sciences divine and human; yet it does not comprise one tenth of the treatises he composed. His lives of illustrious men; his general chronicle; his history of the Vandalic, Suevic, and Gothic kings, down to the year 626; his lives of Scripture saints; are among the most interesting. He was held in the utmost respect while living, and the ut-

most veneration when dead. "O great Isidore!" says St. Braulio, "in thy works thou hast comprised the histories of thy country, the distinctions of periods, the rights of the church, the discipline of the priesthood, the laws ecclesiastical and civil, the geography of climes and regions, the origin and nature of all things human and divine!" From a fear lest learning should nourish his vanity, or rather from jealousy of his reputation, his brother St. Leander confined him for many years as an anchorite within the cell of a monastery; indeed, there is reason to believe that he remained there until his brother's death, whom he succeeded in the metropolitan see of Seville. He filled that dignity during forty years, with the highest honor to himself and utility to the church. The college or seminary which he founded, and attached to his cathedral, in which the human sciences were admitted on an enlarged scale to form the basis of the divine, produced some able men for the times. At length, perceiving his end approach, he caused himself, in conformity with a prevalent custom, to be clothed in sackcloth, and to be carried into the cathedral, where before the high altar he made a public confession of his sins. He died in 636, the last year of king Sisenand.* Besides the foregoing, there are a few others who wrote on historical subjects; such as the anonymous author of a brief chronology, St. Julian on the rebellion of Paul against Wamba, and the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Regum Wisigothorum*. Of biographers whose works relate almost entirely to saints, there are also many.†

Of theologians there are a much greater number; but their works either slumber in the dust of libraries—never, let us hope, to be disturbed!—or have perished. Out of the fifteen pompously enumerated by Masdeu, not more than two or three appear worthy of notice. *St. Leander*, the elder brother of St. Isidore, must occupy the first place. This extraordinary

* The miracles recorded of St. Isidore are numerous. "Above three hundred years ago," says Morales (iii. 129.), "there was a canon named Martin, whose stupidity was truly great, but who yet was highly venerated for holiness. Being much concerned that he could not learn to read, St. Isidore appeared to him one night in a vision, and ordered him to eat a book which the saint gave him. He did so, and was immediately filled with knowledge, so that afterwards he wrote several books in Latin, in very tolerable style. These books are in possession of the canons, and I have looked into them myself." No royal way to knowledge can equal this!

† *Orosii Opera*, in præfatione (Leyden edition). Sanctus Augustinus, *Opera*, tom. ii. epist. 106. Sanctus Isidorus, *De Viris Illustribus* cap. 9. et 44. Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii. trat. i. cap. 3. and tom. vi. p. 341, &c. Sanctus Ildefonsus, *De Viris Illustribus* (apud Lorenzana, *Collectio Sanctorum Patrum Ecclesiæ Toletanæ*, tom. i. p. 284, &c.) Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus et Nova*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 5. Masdeu, *España Goda*, xi. 327, &c.

man—extraordinary rather for his actions than for his talents—soon arrived at the bishopric of Seville. Equally ambitious and stern, he led the van of the Catholic clergy in opposition to the established faith of the Arians. His criminal activity in the case of prince Ermigild has been already seen in the last chapter. Banished by Leovigild,—he deserved a severer fate, but his connexion with the royal family probably averted it (his sister was the mother of the royal rebel)—he failed not by his letters to stimulate the zeal of his brother Isidore. Towards the close of Leovigild's life, he, like all the rest of the exiled Catholics, was recalled by that prince. If St. Gregory is to be believed, the king not only forgave him, but recommended prince Recared to the same place in his affections as had been possessed by the deceased brother: but this relation is exceedingly improbable. Certain, however, it appears that he exercised the same boundless influence over the mind of Recared as over that of Ermenigild. He died in 597. Of his treatises most have perished. There is one extant, on the education of virgins consecrated to God, and on the contempt of the world.—The works which pass under the name of St. *Fulgentius*, another brother of Leander, and bishop of Ecija, belong to other prelates; yet there can be little doubt that he wrote something, perhaps much, as he is highly celebrated for his ecclesiastical studies.—But the most celebrated place in Wisigothic hagiology must be assigned to *St. Ildefonso*. This churchman was at first abbot of Agali. On the death of St. Eugenius, metropolitan of Toledo, in 658, he was elevated, we are told, unwillingly, to that dignity. Neither his learning nor his virtues avail him so much with his countrymen as the signal favor vouchsafed to him by our Lady in person;—a legend received with full assurance of faith, not by the illiterate only, but by the most learned and critical of the nation; not only by the stupid Garibay, and the childish credulous Morales, but by the sceptical Ferreras and the able Masdeu,—a legend of which it would be unsafe to doubt beyond the Pyrenees. Indignant at the daring impiety of some heretics, who assailed the perpetual virginity of the mother of Christ, he composed a work to prove that Catholic doctrine. His ability and zeal met with their reward. On his entering the cathedral to celebrate the feast of the Annunciation (Dec. 18th, 703), he and his attendant clergy were not a little astounded to find the sacred edifice filled with a supernatural light: they drew back, but he boldly advanced. He there beheld the queen of heaven herself, in all the glory of majesty, accompanied by a numerous choir of virgins! As he knelt, she thanked him for his defence of her cause, and informed him that in reward for his

zeal she had brought him a present from on high: at the same time she threw over him a glorious cassock or alb—which is uncertain—and bade him wear it in remembrance of her. The heavenly company disappeared, leaving him senseless on the floor, where he was soon found invested in the celestial garment. At the present day the cassock is believed to be contained in the silver ark of relics, which, on the invasion of the Arabs, were removed from Toledo to Oviedo.* This is not the only miracle recorded of the prelate; but the present fable must be sufficient in this place.† He died in 667. Two other treatises of his remain, one on baptism, the other on grace, &c.‡

The poets of Wisigothic Spain are scarcely worth a passing attention. Dracontius, who, in the fifth century, wrote on God and the creation, and addressed an elegy to a contemporary monarch, are probably not unknown to some readers. Merobardes, who lived in the same century, is praised by Sidonius Apollinaris; and Orontius still more highly as a poet, whose numbers were “sweet as honey,” and whose expressions were “resplendent and savory as the salt of Cardona.” Eugenius III. (of Toledo) corrected the work of Dracontius, and composed some trifles of his own; but none of these, nor a dozen besides, who strove to cultivate “the tuneful art,” and who shall be nameless here, ever succeeded. Spain was not, and has never been, the favorite abode of the muses. She can also number among her writers many orators, men who composed in praise of asceticism, several scientific men, and several of a miscellaneous character. Their obscure names may be found in the well-known work of Nicholas Antonio. Yet it must not be concealed, that if the literature of Spain was barren, it was at least equal to that of any other country during the same period: the writers she can name are superior in number, and not inferior in merit. None, however, except

* “Este soberano milagro,” says Morales, “es una de las cosas mas ciertas y averiguadas que la iglesia de España en razon de milagros tiene.” Ferreras, though a believer in the miracle, doubts if any one ever saw the cassock. Masdeu would disbelieve it, if he durst. After justly observing that St. Julian, the biographer of St. Ildefonso, who wrote immediately after the death of that prelate, makes no mention whatever of the miracle, he adds, as if afraid he had said too much:—“pero lo cuenta Cixilia, escritor del siglo inmediato, citando por testigos a dos ecclesiasticos ancianos, que en su finxer pudieron conocer al santo obispo, tanfavorecido de la Virgen.”—Tom. xi. p. 131.

† See Appendix P.

‡ St. Isidorus, *De Viris Illustribus*, cap. 37, &c. Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus et Nova*, tom. i. lib. iii. iv. 5. passim. St. Ildefonso, *De Viris Illustribus*, cap. ii. xii. &c. St. Julianus, *Vita Sancti Ildefonsi* (in the Collection of the Holy Fathers of the Church of Toledo, by Cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of that see.). Masdeu, xi. 319, &c. Flores, *España Sagrada*, v. 504. This last authority contains Cixilia's relation of the miracle.

the historians and biographers, are worth the trouble of perusing.*

If from the literature we pass to the domestic arts of the Goths, we shall find still less to fill us with any high conceptions of their ingenuity; in every thing they consulted the useful in preference to the magnificent. Their architecture was of the plainest description; their churches, which have survived the storms of so many ages, are low, small, and gloomy. If Spain contains many ecclesiastical monuments of great majesty and splendor, their date is considerably posterior to that of the Goths, and it is only through an abuse of words that they are denominated Gothic. The inscriptions are as humble as the monuments themselves. Owing to the decline of the Latin language, though it was spoken by the whole nation (the Gothic seems soon to have been forgotten by the conquerors), they are barbarous, and even uncouth. In a few of them we find attempts at rhyme;† the invention of which has been erroneously attributed to the troubadours. Most of the sepulchral inscriptions are exceedingly meager, recording merely the name, with the pious addition of "Famulus (or famula) Dei," and the date. The medals and coins are equally rude; as specimens of art they are worthless; and as illustrative of the national history, they are of little value. One side generally represents something in the shape of a head; the reverse, the name of the reigning king, but in characters so strangely rude, that it is often impossible to decipher them.‡

But if the Goths, the Suevi, and the Vandals, were no great admirers of civilization, if they held learning and the elegant arts of life in open contempt, they had many good qualities; they were devout, temperate, frugal, honest, sincere, and open-hearted. If any faith is to be had in the invectives of the priest of Marseilles, St. Salvianus, who lived at the time of the

* The same authorities. Compare Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, with Nicholas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, and it will be seen how great a superiority in number there is of the Wisigothic over the Italian authors during the same period.

† Here is one of the seventh century, taken from Masdeu:—

"Parva dicata Deo
Permansit corpore Virgo,
Hic sursum rapta
Celesti migrat in aula.
Obiit Junias,
Decimo quartove calendas
Hic est querulus,
Era de tempore Martin."

The sense is about on a par with the language.

‡ See Florez, *Medallas*; Masdeu, *Religion, Gobierno y Cultura de la España Goda*; and other authorities.

barbaric invasion, these northern strangers by their virtues put to shame the conduct of the natives. Though this is doubtless declamation, we may readily believe that the Spanish character had been deplorably lowered by the corruptions of the Roman world, and that this corruption would be more manifest when contrasted with the austere virtues of the Northmen. The latter preserved their moral superiority so long as they lived isolated from the natives—so long as a difference of religion and the prohibition against intermarriages separated them from the subjugated people. But when first Recared, next Receswind, and still more the altered circumstances of the two nations, threw down the barriers which had separated them, the Goths began to acquire some of the vices of their Spanish brethren; their character rapidly declined from its original integrity; they became luxurious, effeminate, averse to the fatigues no less than the dangers of war, and consequently insensible of honor.* That the deprivation of manners under three or four monarchs immediately preceding the Mohammedan invasion was very great, notwithstanding the severity of laws and canons, is indisputable from the chronicles of the times, who represent the destruction of the monarchy as the work of offended Heaven. And let us remember, that though the laws alluded to were extremely rigorous, they pressed only on the slave. There are few crimes in the Wisigothic code which could not be redeemed by a pecuniary compensation, or at most by a few stripes. For instance, no one will wonder that men should seek the embraces of a female slave, when no punishment would be awarded him if the crime were effected in any other house than her master's, and but fifty stripes if in the latter. The chances of discovery in such cases would be few; and even if such discovery were made, a few pieces of gold would render the blows light as those of a lady's fan. The vice of incontinence was inseparable from permanent slavery, and from a code which graduated punishment, not by the heinousness of the crime, but by the relative importance of the criminal. The ingenuæ, indeed,—the free-born women of Spain,—were, during this period, as at all others, examples of modesty; but the case with the servæ was very different. The whole frame of Wisigothic society was vitiated by this unjust preference of certain privileged classes: the laws formed but a feeble barrier against the encroachments of the powerful over the weak. Could such a state of things be favorable to social happiness? Could a constitution

* This fact has been abundantly proved by Sempere, *Historia del Luxu y de las Leyes Suntuarias de España*, tom. i. cap. 4. His observations are but too well confirmed by history.

the most partial and oppressive be adapted to the prosperity of the inferior orders,—the most numerous and useful portion of the community? We may smile at the mistaken, however amiable, enthusiasm of men who, like Marin,* represent the age of Gothic domination as in the highest degree favorable to liberty and happiness,—who, disregarding alike the mournful facts of history, and the no less conclusive evidence of laws, create an ideal state of enjoyment, in which their patriotic feelings may luxuriate. The fairy vision vanishes at the touch of truth, and leaves little behind but a dreary wilderness.

* *Teria de las Cortes*,—a very learned, and, though a very enthusiastic, in many respects a useful work.

BOOK III.

THE PENINSULA UNDER THE ARABS AND THE MOORS.

SECTION I

MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN.

711—1492.

CHAP. I.

DOMINATION OF THE ARABS.

EMIRS.

A. H. 93—138.

A. H. **93.** **to** **97.** **TARIK** and Muza, whose exploits have been already related, are usually ranked among the Mohammedan vice-roys of Spain. The authority of the former naturally expired on the arrival of his superior; and when Muza at length obeyed the imperial summons to Damascus, Abdelasis his son became the lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet of God. The assassination of that prince in the mosque of Seville left the new conquests without a governor.*

97. After the departure of Habib, as before related, with the head of the unfortunate emir, the Arab sheiks assembled to invest one of their body with that high dignity. The virtues and wisdom of *Ayub ben Habib*, the nephew of Muza, commanded their unanimous suffrages. Nor did he prove unworthy of their choice. His justice, his mildness, his anxiety to receive and redress complaints, were gratefully witnessed by Mohammedans and Christians, especially by those of Toledo and Saragossa; and the erection of the fortress of Calat Ayub,† near the site of the ancient Bibyllis, has also given perpetuity to his name. But Omar II., the successor of Suleyman, disdain-
98. ing to recognize a governor not appointed by the sovereign authority of the caliph, and bearing, perhaps, much of his predecessor's ill-will to the family of Muza, deposed Ayub, and nominated *Alhaur ben Abderahman* to the viceregal dignity. The new governor, by his severity, or by his rigor-

* See Book II. Chap. I. p. 162.

† Now Calatayub, a spirited little town of Aragon. Calat, a fortress, Ayub, of Ayub.

ous, unsparing justice, caused the people to regret the mild firmness of his predecessor. Not even the rich booty which he collected during an irruption into Gothic Gaul, could, it is said, satisfy his rapacity; and he extorted heavy sums from the people. But what added most to the discontent of the Arabs was, the defeat of his general Alxaman, who had ventured to penetrate into the mountain fastnesses of the Asturias, to crush the infant power of Pelayo.* Complaints of his administration were forwarded to the emir of Almagreb el Wast, or western Africa, on whom Omar had bestowed the power of superintending the affairs of the Peninsula. That emir, with the approbation of Yezid, the successor of Omar, replaced A. H. 103. Alhaur by *Alsama ben Melic*, A. H. 103, or A. D. 721. Alsama sought not to avenge the defeat of the Mohammedans; a circumstance which, added to the utter silence of Isidorus Pacensis as to the fact of the battle, may perhaps incline us to suspect that the success of the Christians has been overrated. Perhaps he despised the petty chief of a few barren rocks. At the head of a considerable force, he passed the Pyrenees, took Carcassonne, reduced Narbonne, and laid siege to Toulouse, which made a noble resistance until Eudes duke of Aquitaine hastened to its relief. A bloody battle was fought under the walls of that city, fatal to the hopes of the Moslems.† Their emir, their sheiks, and many thousands of their number, were left on the field: perhaps few would have escaped, but for the courageous address of Abderahman, the lieutenant of the deceased chief, who rallied the remains of the troops, and safely effected a retreat to Narbonne.‡

The grateful remnant of this once formidable host immediately invested *Abderahman ben Abdalla* with the 103 government of Spain; and the election was confirmed by the emir of Africa. But Ambisa, who had been intrusted by Alsama with the internal administration, and who had hoped to occupy the dignity, at length succeeded, by his criminal intrigues, in procuring the deposition of this favorite chief and

* See the reign of Pelayo, Book III. Section II. Chapter 1.

† The time and circumstances of this battle have been confounded, by Barbonius, Mariana, Marca, &c. with those of a subsequent one fought between Tours and Poitiers. Masden, xii. 36.

‡ Rasis, Fragmentum Historie Hispanie, p. 325. (apud Casiri, Bibl. tom. ii.) Isidorus Pacensis, Chronicon, Nos. 42—48. (apud Florez, tom. viii. p. 303, &c.) Additio ad Joannem Biclarensem, (apud eundem, vi. 422, &c.) Bouges, Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de la Ville et Diocèse de Carcassonne. This author says, without quoting any authority, that Carcassonne capitulated; while the Arabic writers say that it was taken by assault. Condé, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, as spoiled by Martès, i. 116—126. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. MOUSA, TAREK, &c.

his own nomination from the same emir. Though *Ambisa* *ben Johim* thus censurably obtained the object of his ambition, he appears to have been qualified for government. He regulated the proportion of tribute to be paid by those who voluntarily and those who compulsorily submitted to the generals of the caliph; in other respects, he made no distinction between the people; and his administration of justice, in particular, was free from the suspicion of partiality. But if he favored the peaceable, the rebellious he punished with fearful severity. The inhabitants of Tarazona, who had revolted, were subjected to an enormous annual tribute, and the ring-leaders were punished with death. Avarice seems to have been his greatest vice, next to ambition. When Zonaria, the Jewish impostor of Syria, proclaimed himself the long-expected Messiah, the brethren of Spain had the credulity to abandon such possessions as they could not remove, and set out for Jerusalem. Ambisa offered no opposition to their departure, but he speedily seized on their property for the benefit of the state; nor could the services they had rendered the Mussulmans, in betraying the cities of Spain, obtain its restitution. His troops, too, were guilty of many excesses during their incursions into Gaul: habitations burnt, and the inmates led away to slavery, were the only trophies of his arms,—for victory never visited the brigands. These excesses, however, had not his sanction: perhaps he was unable to repress them so long as he continued at Cordova. To restore discipline, as well as the faded glory of his arms, he himself hastened to the army. Carcassonne and Nismes vainly attempted to resist him. In the midst of his successes, however, death surprised him;* and, at his own request, *Hodeira ben Abdalla* was permitted to succeed him. But this governor ad interim was speedily replaced by *Yahia ben Zulema*, whose rigorous justice made him hateful to the Mohammedans, and doubtless agreeable to the natives.† So loud, however, were the complaints of the former, that the African emir was obliged to depose him, and to nominate in his room *Othman ben Abi Neza*, better known to the readers both of history and romance as Manuza. But, in a very few months, this emir was replaced by another; and the latter was as summarily removed to make

* The Arabic authorities say that he was killed in battle, or that he died in consequence of his wounds: we prefer the contemporary authority of Isidorus Pacensis, which is confirmed by the historians of the Franks.

† "Terribilis potestator fere triennio crudelis exestuat, atque acri ingenio Hispanie Sarracenos, et Mauros pro pacificis rebus olim ablatiis exagitavit, atque Christianis plura restorat."—*Ibid. Pacen.* (synd Florez, viii. 30.) This is so remarkable a testimony, that we could not forbear extracting the original passage.

way for the Syrian *Alhaitam ben Obeid*. This last governor dispatched Othman to the frontier, to sustain the honor of the Mohammedan arms, while he remained in Andalusia, where he exhibited the greatest rapacity. Some sheiks conspired against him: then he imprisoned or put to death, confiscating their substance. One of the sufferers was Zeyad ben Zayd, a man of high consideration, who contrived to make the tale of his wrongs reach the feet of the caliph Hixem ben Abdelmelic, the successor of Omar. As Alhaitam was charged with nothing less than hastening the ruin of the Moslem domination in the Peninsula, the commander of the faithful sent Mohammed ben Abdalla to ascertain whether such complaints had any good foundation; and if so, to punish the guilty emir, and appoint another in his place. Mohammed executed his commission with fidelity: he threw Alhaitam into prison, restored numberless victims to liberty, and indemnified them for their sufferings by the confiscated property of the culprit. It is even said that he caused Alhaitam to be paraded on an ass through the public streets of Cordova; thereby leaving in the memory of the people a signal example of the Caliph's justice. At the end of two months, Abderahman, the predecessor of Ambisa, was again invested with the viceregal dignity,—an appointment which gave the highest satisfaction to the country.*

This celebrated emir commenced his second administration by punishing such local governors as had been guilty of injustice; by restoring to the Christians the property of which they had been deprived by Alhaitam,—thereby perfecting the work of the caliph's envoy; and by distributing justice so impartially, that the professors of neither faith could find reason to complain. But these cares, so honorable to his understanding and heart, and in their effects so useful to his people, could not long divert him from the great design he had formed,—that of invading the whole of Gaul. Here his ambition was sanctified by the holiness of the warfare in which he was about to engage. . He did not, however conceal from himself the magnitude and even danger of the undertaking: in addition to the troops which Saracen Spain could furnish, he solicited and obtained from the African emir a body of Arabic and Mauritanic troops, alone sufficient to form a powerful army. Though the Arabic historians conceal the extent of the preparations, for the natural purpose of palliating the disgrace of

* Rasis. Fragmentum Hist. Hisp. p. 325. (apud Casiri, tom. ii.) Isidorus Pacensis, Chronicon, Nos. 52—57. (apud Florez, viii. 306. &c. Chronicon Albeldense, No. 79. (apud eundem, tom. xiii.) Ximenes, Historia Arabum, cap. xi. xii. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, i. 126—134. Bouges, Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de la Ville, &c. de Carcassonne, p. 49.

failure, there can be no doubt that those preparations were on an immense scale; that the true believers flocked to the white standard* from the farthest parts of the caliph's dominions; and that the whole Mohammedan world contemplated the expedition with intense anxiety.

Just before the Mussulman army commenced its march, A. H. 112. Othman, who still continued at his station in Gothic Gaul, very near to the Pyrenees, received orders to lay waste the province of Aquitaine. But Othman, or Manuza,† was in no disposition to execute the order: he had seen with envy Abderahman preferred to himself; and his marriage with one of the daughters of Eudes duke of Aquitaine, whom he passionately loved, rendered him more eager to cultivate the friendship, than to incur the hostility of the Franks. What motive of policy or of ambition, or whether hatred towards the hero of the Franks (Charles Martel), caused that prince to devote his beautiful child to the embraces of a misbeliever,—if, indeed, Othman had not ceased to be one,—would now be vain to inquire. Othman had actually concluded a long truce with the Christians; which both love and honor commanded him to observe. But the fact, though stated with candor, availed not with the emir, who censured him in severe terms for concluding a suspension of hostilities without the sanction of his superior, and again ordered him to prepare for war. In this perplexity, Othman acquainted Eudes with the meditated assault, and thereby enabled that chief to meet it. Abderahman was soon informed of all that passed, as well as of his lieutenant's connexion with the enemy. He instantly dispatched a select body of troops, under one of his confidential generals, to watch the movements, and, if necessary, to punish the treason, of Othman. The appearance of the general alarmed the conscience of the latter, who, with his beautiful princess, sought for safety in flight. He was overtaken in the Pyrenees, while resting during the heat of the day beside a fountain. His domestics fled; but his faithful Lampegia remained with him: while endeavoring to protect her, he fell pierced with a multitude of wounds. His head was sent to the emir, and his bride to end her days in the harem of Damascus.

* The white was the color of the house of Omeia. Green was afterwards assumed by the Fatimites, and black by the Abbasides.

† To suit his monstrous system of chronology, Masdeu (xii. 39.) is obliged to convert Manuza into Maniz, whom he calls a Moorish chief. This Maniz is a pure creation. The actions of his Manuza he delays from 731 to 756. This opinion is in direct opposition to the all but unanimous voice of antiquity.

Abderahman now commenced his momentous march, in the hope of carrying the banner of the prophet to the very shores of the Baltic. His progress spread dismay throughout Europe: and well it might; for so formidable and destructive an armament Europe had not seen since the days of Attila. Conflagrations, ruins, the shrieks of violated chastity, and the groans of the dying, rendered this memorable invasion more like the work of a demon than of a man. The flourishing towns of southern and central France, from Gascony to Burgundy, and from the Garonne to the Loire, were soon transformed into smoking heaps. In vain did Eudes strive to arrest the overpowering torrent, by disputing the passage of the Dordogne; his army was swept before it,* and he himself was compelled to become a suppliant to his enemy the mayor of the Franks. That celebrated hero, whose actions, administration, and numerous victories commanded the just admiration of the times, was no less anxious to become the savior of Christendom; but he knew too well the magnitude of the danger to meet it by premature efforts; and he silently collected in Belgium and in Germany the elements of resistance to the dreaded inundation. When his measures were taken, he boldly advanced at the head of his combined Franks, Belgians, Germans, &c.† towards the enemy, who had just reduced Tours, and who was soon drawn up to receive him in the extended plain between that city and Poitiers. Neither captain was at first very willing to commence the combat: the Christian through a consciousness of his alarming inferiority in numbers; the Mussulman through an apprehension that his followers would be more intent on preserving their plunder than their reputation. But both felt that it was inevitable; and, after six day's skirmishing, both advanced to the shock. The contest was long and bloody; the utmost valor was displayed by the two armies, and the utmost ability by the two captains; but in the end, the impenetrable ranks, robust frames, and iron hands of the Germans‡ turned the fortune of the day: when darkness arrived, an immense number of Saracen

* "Solut Deus numerum morientium vel pereuntium recognoscat."—*Ibid. Facen.*

† Maadeu (xii. 41.), like a true Spaniard, will allow little merit to the Franks on this important occasion: he represents the victory as the work chiefly of the Germans. The Franks must not be robbed of their fair fame; to them as much as the Germans is due the glory of having saved the religion and liberties of Europe. That glory, however, the Christian will ultimately ascribe to another and a greater power.

‡ "Gens Austriæ, mole membrorum, prævalida et ferrea manu," &c.—*Ibid. Facen.*

bodies, among which was that of Abderahman himself, covered the plain. Still the misbelievers were formidable alike from their numbers and from their possible despair; and the victors remained in their tents, under arms, during the night. At break of day they prepared to renew the struggle; the white tents of the Arabs, extending as far as the eye could reach, appeared before them; but not a living creature came out to meet them. It was at length discovered that the enemy had abandoned their camp, their own wealth, and the immense plunder they had amassed; and had silently, though precipitately, withdrawn from the field. Christendom was saved: pope and monk, prince and peasant, in an ecstasy of grateful devotion, hastened to the churches, to thank Heaven for a victory, which, however dearly it had been purchased by the true servants of God, had inflicted so signal a blow on the misbelievers, that their return was no longer dreaded.*

This far-famed victory, which was obtained in the year 733† spread consternation throughout the Mohammedan world. Fortunately for Christendom, the domestic quarrels of the Mussulmans themselves, the fierce struggles of their chiefs for the seat of the prophet, prevented them from universally arming to vindicate their faith and their martial reputation. This glorious event must be no less interesting to the lover of romance than the reader of history. The twelve peers of France and Britain, the renowned names of chivalry, the splendid creations of the Italian muse, owe their origin to this almost miraculous success of the Christians.‡

Abdelmelic ben Cotan was nominated by the African emir to succeed Abderahman, and was soon afterwards commanded

* The number of these Mussulmans has been stated at above 300,000, while that of the Christians has been reduced to 1500. Both statements are too absurd to be received.

† The date has been disputed. The Arabians adopt 733; Ferreras and the Chronicles of Languedoc, 732; Mariana, Masdeu, and others, 734. The last profess to follow Isidore of Beja; but we are not certain that the bishop gives any such year. The paragraph following the relation of the battle "tunc in era 772," (A. D. 734); but the adverb *tunc* may not in this case positively imply at that time. Besides, Isidore does not place a date posterior, but prior, to the events he records. It is safest to follow Condé and his Arabs.

‡ Isidorus Pacensis, Chronicon, No. 59. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, viii. 311.) Fredegarius, Chronicon, quod ille, jubente Childebrando comite, scripsit (apud Duchesne Historie Francorum Scriptores Coetanei ab ipsis Gentis origine ad nostra usque tempora, tom. i. p. 108, &c.). Eginhardus, Vita Caroli Magni (in eadem collectione, ii. 94.). A very valuable collection this is; but both these two authors have their prejudices, especially the last. Ximenes, Historia Arabum, cap. xiii. et xiv.; a very inaccurate production, but containing much matter, if it could be received as indubitable, not to be found elsewhere. Condé, Histoire de la Domination, &c., as spoiled by Mariés, i. 134—142.

by the caliph to revenge the late disasters of the Mohammedan arms; but such orders were more easily given than executed. The emir, indeed, passed the Pyrenees; but a complete panic seemed to have seized on his followers, who soon retreated, but were pursued and destroyed in the defiles of those mountains. He was superseded by *Ocba ben Albegag*, an officer who had acquired considerable celebrity in suppressing the revolts of the Mauritians. The impartial, severe justice of the new emir procured him the respect of the people, and the hatred of the local governors, who under his predecessor had practised the most unblushing extortions. He founded many schools and mosques; extirpated several bands of robbers; and introduced some important reforms both into the administration and military police of the country. At length this able and upright man reluctantly prepared to pass into Gaul; not to make conquests, but to defend the few possessions yet remaining to the Saracens, which were hourly menaced by the Franks. A new revolt of the Berbers, and the pressing summons of the African emir, made him change his purpose, and hasten to Mauritania. As he calculated on a prompt return, he appointed no deputy at Cordova, but recommended to the different walis, or local governors, the preservation of internal order and peace. The war, however, raged three years; and during this long absence those governors paid little attention to the general weal. Though at perpetual variance with one another, they agreed in one thing,—that of disregarding whatever was alien to their present advantage. This has always been the curse of Mohammedan governments. Conscious by how frail a tenure they exist, their object has uniformly been to accumulate the greatest possible sum of wealth in the shortest given time—no matter by what means. On his return, Ocba had the mortification to find that his predecessor alone had stood aloof from the general contagion. Feeling his body and mind alike exhausted by his harassing duties, he applied to the caliph for the restoration of Abdelmelic. His request was scarcely granted, when amidst the blessings and lamentations of the people he breathed his last sigh in the viceregal palace of Cordova.

The restored emir had little reason to congratulate himself on his good fortune. Scarcely had Ocba landed in Spain, when the restless barbarians of Mauritania again revolted, defeated and slew their governor, who hastened to subdue them, and triumphed over a new emir, at the head of a powerful reinforcement from Egypt. Of this reinforcement the Syrians, under Thalaba ben Salema, and the Egyptians under Baleg ben Bakir, were expelled from the country,

and induced to seek refuge in Spain. Their arrival boded no good to the tranquillity of the Peninsula. In vain did Abdelmelic desire them not to advance further than Andalusia, on the plea that their services would again be speedily required in Mauritania. His secret enemies—such were all whose abuses he labored to remedy, or who envied his elevation—persuaded the two strangers to advance into the heart of the country, assuring them that the emir was aiming at nothing less than an entire independence of Damascus. They required little inducement to embrace the faction of the walis. They marched at the same time on Toledo and Cordova, which they hoped to seize before the emir, who was then at Saragossa, could oppose them. By forced marches, however, Abdelmelic reached Toledo in time to save it; the assailants instantly raised the siege, and were pursued by his son, who cut off a considerable number in the retreat. Cordova also held out through the heroic resistance of Abderahman, son of the virtuous Ocba, who appears to have inherited the noble qualities of his sire.

But here the emir found the term of his success. The young Abderahman, listening only to his bravery, issued from the gates of Cordova, and after an obstinate struggle was defeated by Baleg. The victor inflicted a similar calamity on the emir himself, who was advancing by way of Merida, and who with great difficulty succeeded in reaching the Mohammedan capital. Abdelmelic now tried negotiation, in vain; the Africans invested him in his last hold, and the inhabitants hoping to obtain favor by his destruction, tied him to a post on the bridge of Cordova, and opened their gates to Baleg. The unfortunate emir was speedily beheaded, and the inhuman victor tumultuously proclaimed the governor of the faithful.

Baleg did not long enjoy his usurped honors. Of A. H. 124. fended at the preference thus shown to another, *Thalaba* unexpectedly became the advocate of subordination: he loudly asserted that the elevation of Baleg was illegal, since to the caliph alone belonged the right of nomination; and with his Syrians he retired towards Merida. At the same time the son of Ocba rallied the dispersed troops of the murdered Abdelmelic, and marched against the usurper, thus critically weakened by the defection of *Thalaba*. The two armies met on the plains of Calatrava, midway between Cordova and Toledo. In the heat of the action the furious Baleg performed prodigies of valor, continually exclaiming with a loud voice, "Where is the son of Ocba?"—"Here am I!" replied the gallant youth, as soon as he heard the savage. Like two wild beasts the chiefs immediately flew at each other, and a des-

perate combat ensued. In the end justice triumphed; Baleg fell, pierced by the scimitar of Abderahman; the tyrant's forces fled, and the victor was hailed by the honorable surname of Almansor. But this event did not bestow tranquillity to Spain. Thalaba, no less ferocious than his rival, still remained, and was closely investing Merida. Being joined by the remnant of Baleg's troops, he soon forced the inhabitants to capitulate. Hence he returned to Cordova, where, in order to celebrate his success, he commanded the massacre of a thousand prisoners. But his thirst for blood was not to be gratified on this occasion. The approach of Husam ben Dhizar, surnamed Abulchatur, whom the caliph had sent to govern and tranquilize Spain, saved the destined victims; and Thalaba from his viceregal throne was removed to a dungeon in the fortress of Tangiers.*

Husam was not destined to be more fortunate than his predecessors. Though his vigorous measures re-^{A. H.} stored order for a time, it was only in appearance: insubordination, ambition, and revenge were deeply fermenting in the hearts of the Moslems. Though he furnished the new comers with land, without interfering with the rights of the original settlers,† though he was evidently desirous of promoting the prosperity of all, his very love of justice raised up against him a host of enemies. The walis and alcaides whom he deposed to make way for more honest men, naturally joined the party which conspired against him. The most powerful of the discontented was Samail ben Hatim, whom the refusal of the government of Saragossa drove first into murmurs, then into disobedience, and soon into open revolt. At the head of his Egyptians and of some Africans, he scoured the country, exacting enormous contributions as he passed along, especially from such towns as refused to acknowledge him. He was speedily joined by Thueba el Ameli, an Arab general, who had

* Isidorus Pacensis, *Chronicon*, Nos. 63—67. (apud Florez, viii. p. 314. &c.). Abu Bekr, *Vestis Serica* (apud Casiri, *Bibl. Hisp.* tom. ii. p. 32.). Ximenes, *Rodericus, Historia Arabum*, cap. xvi. xvii. Condé, *Histoire de la Domination des Arabes*, &c. as spoiled by Mariés, i. 142—156. The fragments of Casiri, however, are so meager, so dark, and often so improbable in themselves, that they can be received only in so far as they are confirmed by the learned researches of Condé. The same may be said of the archbishop of Toledo.

† Many Arabians were located in the country of Tadmir, probably without much regard to the rights of the Christians. Poor Athanagild, who this year succeeded Theodomir, would find his yoke more heavy than ever. Husam was the emir who, as before related, exacted from him an exorbitant contribution, and was obliged to desist from his injustice by the Mohammedans themselves, chiefly the soldiers of Baleg. No doubt the persecutions of the governor would drive many Christians to the Asturias, where Alonso I. was not only maintaining himself, but extending his little territory on every side.

distinguished himself in the war against the Berbers. They declared Husam, who was then at Beja, deposed; and by seditious speeches, artful misrepresentations, and the most alluring promises, gained over a great number of the troops. Husam hastened from Beja, in the hope of throwing himself into the fortifications of Cordova: but in his passage through the mountains he was intercepted by his enemies, was laden with irons, and consigned to one of the towers of that capital.

A. H. 744. *Thueba* was proclaimed his successor; and, to silence complaint, every thing was declared to have been done by the express orders of the caliph. But two sheiks, the sons of Abdelmelic and Oeba, who during these transactions were on the eastern frontier, were not thus to be deceived. As they had too few troops to engage the tyrant openly, the former, in pursuance of a concealed plan, hastened to Cordova, resolved to effect the liberation of Husam. With thirty valiant soldiers of approved fidelity, he assaulted, during the stillness of night, the tower in which the emir was confined, massacred the sleeping guards, and freed the captive. Husam lost no time, in rallying his friends, and in gaining possession of the gates: the inhabitants armed and declared for him. But this success was of short duration. Samail soon invested Cordova, and though he was defeated in one partial action by Husam in person, in a second he cut off the troops which issued from the walls; Husam himself being left dead on the field. As usual, Cordova acknowledged the victor, and Spain was divided between Thueba and Samail; the former remaining in the capital, the latter fixing the seat of his government at Saragossa.

During these scenes of anarchy and of blood, there was a third party, which took no part in them, and which groaned over the disasters of this fertile land. When experience proved that the two ambitious emirs aimed at nothing beyond their private advantage; when rapacity, injustice, and despotism rendered their sway intolerable; when the numerous local governors imitated their example, and scorned to recognize any authority superior to their own, that party became powerful enough to attempt the reformation of existing abuses. As the emir of Africa was too much engrossed with the revolt of his own subjects to think of Spain, and as the fatal discords of the East would not allow the usurpers of the caliphate to cast a serious glance on the fate of a distance province, that reformation could come only from the Mohammedans themselves, who were thus isolated in a corner of their vast empire. The Arabs of the tribes of Cahtan and Yehmen had influence or address enough to convoke an assembly of the chiefs of the nation, and of such as were distinguished for wisdom or mode-

ration. It was agreed that the only means of ending the existing anarchy was to appoint an emir with sovereign power over the whole Peninsula, who alone should nominate to the inferior governments, which he might revoke at will, if need were, or confer for definite periods, renewable only in cases where no well-founded complaints could be brought against the individuals holding them. Such authority, it was evident, could be intrusted to one only who had never joined any faction, and who was distinguished for justice, wisdom, and firmness. After some deliberation, the choice unanimously fell on *Yussuf el Fehri*, of the tribe of Coraix, which was also that of the prophet. Thueba's seasonable death removed a powerful obstacle to this patriotic arrangement: neither Samail, nor the equally restless emir of the sea, Amer ben Amru, though jealous enough of the elevation of Yussuf, testified any open dissatisfaction at it. Their hostility indeed was suspended by the favor they received at the hands of the new viceroy. Samail was appointed to the government of Toledo, his son to that of Saragossa; and though the dignity which Amer had held was abolished, he was more than compensated by the government of Seville.

"But the heart of the ambitious," says an Arabian author, "is like the sea, constantly exposed to storms, and agitated by the slightest breeze." Amer, from the friend, was become the mortal enemy of Samail; and he labored to interest the emir in his resentment. But the just Yussuf disdained to be his tool, or to believe his dark insinuations against the father and son, on whose governments he had cast a longing eye. Deceived in his hopes from the emir, he had recourse to a more daring measure. He wrote to the caliph a letter of bitter complaints against Yussuf, Samail, and the son of the latter; representing all three as acting in concert to detach Spain from the supremacy of the court of Damascus, as not allowing even the caliph's name to be pronounced, as tyrants over the people, and implacable enemies of all who opposed their criminal purposes. But the bearer of this letter had been gained by Yussuf, to whom it was delivered. Samail and his son were sent for by the emir, and all three agreed that their only safety, as well as the tranquillity of the country, lay in the death, or at least in the confinement, of Amer. The only difficulty was how to seize his person.

The ordinary residence of Samail was at Sigüenza. Hearing one day that Amer was to pass that town, he dispatched a number of horsemen to persuade or force that governor to accompany them to him. They soon encountered the escort of

Amer; but, finding it too strong to be assaulted, they respectfully saluted the sheik, and invited him, in their master's name, to accept the hospitality of Siguenza. Amer, unsuspicious of danger, accompanied them to the presence of Samail. A repast was served; but, on a given signal, the guest was surprised to see some soldiers appear. But if he was surprised for a moment, he was not intimidated: he drew his scimitar, opened a way through the myrmidons of his base host, gained his horse, and outrode his pursuers. The treachery of which he was so near proving the victim, and which had proved fatal to most of his attendants, did more for him than all his intrigues: two of the most powerful Arabian tribes—a people more tenacious than any other of the sanctity of hospitality—openly espoused his cause: he marched on Saragossa; defeated Samail, who was advancing to succor his son; and invested that place, into which his enemy had retired after the defeat. The defence was obstinate; but as there was no hope of holding out long, both father and son successively left the place, and, in their retreat, inflicted a severe blow on the forces of the assailant. Saragossa surrendered, to the mortification of Yussuf, who was now compelled to enter on a ruinous civil war; and ruinous it was beyond example in this ill-fated country. To describe the horrors which ensued is impossible: it seemed as if one half of Spain had risen for no other purpose than that of exterminating the other half, and of transforming the whole country into a desert. Many cities, to say nothing of inferior towns and villages, disappeared for ever from the face of the Peninsula; leaving, however, melancholy mementoes of their past existence in the ruins which remained.*

About forty years had now elapsed since the first descent of the Mohammedans; and, in the whole of that period, there had been but a few intervals of tranquillity, or even of individual security. So mutable had been the government, that twenty different emirs had been called, or had raised themselves, to direct it. Jealousy, hatred, distrust of one another, open revolt, successful rebellions, forced submission, and a longing for revenge, with regard to the viceroys, had perpetually signalized the administration of the Arabs. The caliphs were too remote, and too much occupied with nearer interests, to apply a reasonable remedy to those evils; the governors of Almagreb had lost their delegated jurisdiction: yet, at this very time, when no sheik or wali would re-

* Authorities the same as those last quoted. At this period, however, the fragments of Casiri are more meager and obscure than ever.

cognize a superior,—when the Mohammedan society of the Peninsula was thus fearfully disorganized,—the Christians of the Asturias were consolidating their infant power, and were naturally alive to every advantage that could be gained over the odious strangers. The sober-judging chiefs of the latter saw the danger of their situation, and resolved, if possible, to avert it. About eighty of them secretly assembled at Cordova; when, laying aside all private ambition, they consulted as to the means of ending the civil war. They were addressed by Hayut of Emessa, who reminded them of the recent usurpation of the Abbasides; of the consequent massacre of the Omeyas; and, what was still more melancholy, of the fatal divisions among the partisans of those families throughout the Mohammedan world, and of the anarchy which was the inevitable result of those divisions. The condition of the vast empire of the caliphs he truly represented as very precarious, and that in Spain the power of the usurping family* was weakened by the defection of many leading emirs. “What could we expect from so feeble a government? Suppose we had a caliph as just as Omar, he would be too distant to benefit us by his virtues or genius. Have ye not yourselves felt the woes occasioned to Spain by this distance from the throne?” The speaker concluded by adverting to the two chiefs who now kept the Peninsula in commotion, and who, he justly observed, had no object in view beyond their own advantage. The discourse of Hayut made a deep impression on his hearers, who agreed that the only safety for them lay in a government founded on justice and strength, and entirely independent of the East. Most of them were attached by hereditary ties to the unfortunate house of Omeya, which had held the sceptre of the Mohammedan world, through fourteen successive caliphs, during the space of a century; and they were consequently not well disposed to the aspiring Abbasides. Much, too, of their dissatisfaction with the present emir arose from his having recognized the rights of the usurper Abul Abbas.

But if these chiefs were thus agreed to establish a separate independent monarchy, the main difficulty still remained. What individual could be found in whose claims a whole nation could be likely to acquiesce, and who possessed the requisites towards that nation's prosperity? It was removed by

* Meruan II., the fourteenth caliph of the house of Omeya, had just been defeated and slain by Abul Abbas Azefah, the descendant of Abbas, uncle of Mahomet, and founder of the dynasty of the Abbasides. The treacherous manner in which the princes of the former house were put to death at an entertainment is familiar to every reader of Gibbon (vol. v. chap. 51. 4to edit.).

Wahib ben Zair, whose interesting relation is thus abridged :— After the tragic massacre of the Omeyas, two sons of meruan, the last caliph of that house, who had been so fortunate as to escape the destruction of their brethren, were foolish enough to reside at the court of Abul Abbas, on his solemnly promising to spare their lives. They lived for some time honored by the caliph and the faithful, until suspicions of their designs were artfully instilled into his mind. Yielding at length to the repeated insinuations of a base spy, Abul Abbas ordered their execution. Soliman, the eldest, was immediately taken and slain; but the other, Abderahman, who was fortunately absent from Damascus, was seasonably informed of this second tragedy. Hastily furnishing himself with horses and money, he commenced his flight from Syria. He chose the most unfrequented paths, and safely arrived among the Bedoween Arabs. The readiness with which one "born in the purple" accommodated himself to the habits of these sons of the wilderness afforded them no small surprise. After a time, however, he left them, not because he was disgusted with their pastoral or roving life, but because he was justly apprehensive of his retreat being discovered. From Arabia he passed through Egypt into Africa, where new dangers awaited him. The governor of Barca, Aben Habib, who owed his fortune to the Omeyas, was become the devoted slave of the Abbasides. Learning that a young stranger answering the description of the fugitive prince, which the caliph had anxiously forwarded to all the emirs of the empire, was within the limits of his government, he sent his agents in every direction to seize him. Abderahman, who at this time had again sought refuge with a tribe of Bedoweens, was unsuspecting of the peril. His qualities and manners speedily endeared him to these shepherds. One night a troop of cavalry surrounded their tents, and demanded if they had not among them a young Syrian, whose person was accurately described to them. In this description they instantly recognized their guest; but, shrewdly suspecting that the visit of Habib's horsemen boded him no good, they replied that the youth had been hunting wild beasts with some companions of his own age; but that he might be found passing the night in a valley at some distance. The horsemen were no sooner departed than the Bedoweens awoke their guest, and told him what had passed. With tears in his eyes, he thanked them for this proof of their affection; and, attended by some of the most resolute youths of the tribe, he fled into the desert. After some days of a fatiguing journey through boundless plains of sand, he reached Tahart in Mauritania, by the inhabitants of which he was re-

ceived with joy. He was speedily admitted into the house of a sheik of the noble tribe of Zeneta, to which his mother belonged, and which the tale of his wrongs roused in favor of a kinsman.—“Abderahman,” concluded Wahib, “still remains there: let him be our sovereign!”

The proposal of the sheik was received with unanimous applause. Accompanied by Teman ben Alkama, he was instantly deputed by the assembly to pass over into Mauritania, and offer the crown to the princely descendant of Moawia. Both happily reached Tahart, and solicited a conversation with Abderahman. In acquainting him, however, with their mission, they neither disguised nor diminished the difficulties with which he would have to contend; but they assured him of their own fidelity, and of the obedience of the Arab, Syrian, and Egyptian tribes. The prince immediately accepted the proposal. “Noble deputies,” said he, “I will unite my destiny with yours: I will go and fight with you. I fear neither adversity nor the dangers of war: if I am young, misfortune, I hope, has proved me, and never yet found me wanting.” He added only, that he was bound to mention their mission to the sheiks who had so hospitably received him, and ask the aid of their counsel. “Go, my son!” replied an aged sheik, his kinsman: “the finger of Heaven beckons thee! Rely on us all, the scimitar only can restore the honor of thy line!” The youth of the whole tribe were eager to accompany him, but he selected seven hundred and fifty well-armed horsemen for this arduous expedition.

While Abderahman was approaching his future kingdom, Yussuf was returning triumphant from Saragossa with the captive Amer and the son, both laden with chains. As he was one day halting in his pavilion, during the noontide heat, amidst the mountains which lie between Toledo and Cordova, he was surprised by the appearance of his friend Samail, breathless with haste. To his anxious inquiries, the latter answered only by presenting him with an anonymous note addressed to himself. It informed him that his reign was about to expire, that the destroyer of his power was rapidly approaching; but it exhorted him instantly to execute his two prisoners, and to inflict the same fate on all the sheiks who had joined in inviting his successor to Spain. In vain did the two chiefs strive to comprehend its meaning, until a messenger, dispatched by Yussuf's son, arrived from Cordova with the intelligence that a prince of the Omeyas, who had been invited by the Arabian, Syrian, and Egyptian sheiks, was approaching with a body of Berber troops. In a transport of fury, Yussuf commanded his prisoners to be cut to pieces. He and his friend then hastened

their march, after dispatching messengers in every direction, to raise troops for the conflict which both saw was inevitable.*

KINGS.

755—1031.

ABDERAHMAN landed on the coast of Andalusia in the early part of the year 755. The inhabitants of that province, sheiks and people, received him with open arms, and made the air ring with their acclamations. His appearance, his station, his majestic mien, his open countenance, won upon the multitude even more perhaps than the prospect of the blessings which he was believed to have in store for them. His march to Seville was one continued triumph: twenty thousand voices cheered his progress; twenty thousand scimitars, wielded by vigorous hands, were at his disposal. The surrounding towns immediately sent deputies with their submission and the offer of their services. Yussuf was in consternation at this desertion of the people; and he was no less indignant that the sheiks, his former creatures, should so readily surrender their fortresses to the stranger. He was, however, far from intimidated. One of his sons he intrusted with the defence of Cordova; another he placed over Valencia; a third he sent into Murcia, to maintain the Christian subjects of Athanagild in obedience; while he himself, with his friend Samail, flew from province to province to raise troops. The conflict was sure to be a severe one. The son of Yussuf attempted to impede the march of Abderahman on the capital; but he was defeated, and compelled precipitately to re-enter the city, which the conqueror invested. Hearing that Samail was advancing with 40,000 men to the relief of Cordova, the king left one half of his army to prosecute the siege; while with the other half, consisting of no more than 10,000 horse, he advanced against the enemy, now joined by Yussuf. The disproportion of numbers in no way alarmed him: the day of battle happened to be the anniversary of the slaughter of the

* Isidori Pacensis Chronicon, Nos. 75, 76. (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, viii. 321.) Abu Bakir, Excerpta ex Historia Illustrium Pectarum, cui titulus Vestis Serica (apud Casiri, *Bibl. Hist. Hisp.* ii. 30—32.) Rasis, Fragmentum Historiæ Hispaniæ (in eadem collectione, ii. 315.) Elmacin, *Historia Sarracénica*, lib. ii. cap. 2, 3. It is surprising how a Christian writer like Elmacin, who must necessarily have been conversant with the historians of the Greek empire, and who knew so much of Mohammedan affairs, could possibly be so meager. His obscurity is probably owing to his translator, Erpenius, *Chronicon Albeldense*, (apud Florez, xiii. 460.) Ximenes Rodericus, *Historia Arabum*, cap. 17. et 18. But, more than to all these, we are indebted to our recollections of Condé, *Historia de la Dominación de los Arabes en España*, tom. i.; and to that author as spoiled by M. Maricá, *Histoire de la Domination*, &c. i. 183—184.

Omeyas; and though the circumstance was as ominous of a discouraging as of a hopeful issue, he did not fail to raise the spirits of his followers by the assurance that the dark deed would before nightfall be amply revenged on the army of Yussuf. That emir, from his superiority in force, was no less confident of success. His repetition of the two verses of an ancient poet—

"We are a whole multitude raging with thirst,
Yet have we only the water of one little well half dried up;
How may we allay this tormenting thirst?"—

conveyed an apprehension that there would not be work enough for the weapons of half his troops. But he was speedily undeceived. Though he and Samail fought with intrepidity, they had to oppose one more intrepid than themselves,—one who rushed wherever the danger was greatest, and who at length forced both to seek safety in flight; the former in the west, the other in Murcia. Cordova capitulated with the victor: a great number of other cities voluntarily surrendered. But two victories had not decided the fate of this martial country. Yussuf quickly repaired his losses, and with another army appeared on the field, though with diminished hopes. After some manœuvring, the two enemies again encountered each other, near Almunecar. Yussuf and Samail fought for life, Abderahman for empire. The emir sustained a third defeat, more fatal than either of the two preceding: he and Samail were pursued to the rugged rocks that skirt the boundary of Elvira. Perceiving that longer resistance would be useless, the latter induced the emir, with much difficulty, to allow negotiations for peace. The king readily granted an amnesty, and oblivion for the past, on the condition that within a given time the fortresses which still held out should be surrendered.*

Abderahman had thus, in the short space of a year, triumphed over enemies formidable alike from their valor and numbers. His satisfaction was not a little increased by the birth of a son, whom he called Hixem, after his ancestors of that name. The peace which his arms had won allowed him leisure for the improvement of his capital. By stupendous embankments he narrowed the bed of the Guadalquivir; and the space thus rescued from the waters he transformed into extensive gardens, in the centre of which a tower arose commanding a vast prospect. He is said to have been

* The same authorities as before, with the exception of Isidorus Panceus. We regret losing the authority of the good bishop, whose work only comes down to the viceroyalty of Yussuf. If always meager in facts, and sometimes declamatory in style, he is seldom mistaken as to the events of his own time. In the main, his statements are confirmed by those of the Arabian writers.

the first who transplanted the palm into the congenial climate of Spain; and by the Arabic poets of that country much credit is given him for amiable feeling while contemplating that graceful tree. "Beautiful palm!" they represent him as saying, "thou art, like me, a stranger in these places; but the western breezes kiss thy branches, thy roots strike into a fertile soil, and thy head rises into a pure sky: like me, too, wouldst thou weep, if thou hadst the same cares; but thou fearest not the chances of evil to which I am exposed. Before the cruelty of Abul Abbas banished me from my native land, my tears often bedewed thy kindred plants of the Euphrates; but neither they nor the river remember my grief. Beautiful palm! thou canst not regret thy country!"

From this melancholy but pleasing meditation, the king was summoned by more active cares. The arrival of some illustrious Saracens, partisans of his house, and therefore obnoxious to Abul Abbas, whom he had specially invited, strengthened his hands. Them he appointed to honorable posts; as also Samail, because the latter had inclined the emir to sue for peace. But Yussuf regretted his former power; and that regret was not diminished on finding that many sheiks were still attached, if not to his person, at least to his government, under which they had enjoyed more impunity than they could ever expect under the firmer administration of a king. Besides, the usual passions of our nature—mortification at being overlooked in the distribution of court favors; jealousy, and even hatred, of the more successful,—would incline not a few in behalf of any change which promised to favor their ambition. Yussuf took advantage of this natural state of things: he conspired with his old supporters; lamented that he had given up Elvira and Granada, but resolved to retain possession of the fortresses he still held. He next raised troops, and seized on the fort 758, of Almodovar. Abdelmelic, governor of Seville, was or sent by the king to crush the rebellion. After a series A. H. of unsuccessful manœuvres, Yussuf, whose preparations 141. were not yet completed, fell in a battle near Lorca, and his head was sent by the victorious general to the king. According to the barbarous custom of the times, it was suspended 759. from an iron hook over one of the public gates of Cordova.

The death of Yussuf weakened, but did not destroy, the party of the disaffected. His three sons collected a new army, and seized on Toledo. The wali Temam was then absent; but he speedily returned to his post, and defeated the three brothers in a bloody action, leaving the eldest dead on the field. He recovered the city, and sent the second brother, Moham-

med (the third, Cassim, contrived to escape), a captive to the king, to be confined in one of the fortresses of Cordova. Cassim fled to Algeziras, with the view of escaping into Africa; but the restless sheik of that place, Barcerah ben Nooman, persuaded him again to try the fate of arms. The ease with which another army was raised, in opposition to a beloved monarch, proves both that the house of Abbas had many partisans in Spain, and that anarchy was more agreeable to the military than a settled, because less lucrative, condition of society. Sidonia, and even Seville, were speedily reduced by the rebels; but Abderahman himself hastened to the latter city, forced an entrance by dispersing the opponents, and received the grateful thanks of the inhabitants. The sheik Barcerah fell in the action: Cassim again escaped; but he was pursued by Temam, the active general of Abderahman, who had little difficulty in prevailing on the inhabitants of Algeziras to surrender him, and who brought him triumphantly to Seville. The generous monarch again spared his life, and committed him to safe custody in a tower of Toledo. Samail shared the same fate, and died in prison at the end of some months. This chief had taken no open part in the rebellion; he had even retired to private life at Siguenza, as if disgusted, not only with ambition, but with the busy vanities of the world. He affected much philosophic indifference for the things which had once engaged his whole attention. Yet this man not only meditated the recovery of his past greatness, but was the active soul of a conspiracy intended to subvert the monarchy, and to restore the former rule of chaos. While outwardly abandoned to the pleasures of retirement, "his poniards were whetting in the dark." The very same year Narbonne fell into the power of the Christians, after a siege of six years. Gothic Gaul was now lost to the Moslems.

The peace which the monarch enjoyed was destined to prove of short duration. While he continued at Seville, indulging alike in poetry and friendship, he received intelligence of an insurrection at Toledo, by Hixem ben Adri el Fehri, a relation of Yussuf. Cassim was released; and an army (chiefly of bandits), 10,000 strong, openly defied the authority of the king. Abderahman marched to Toledo; but as the fortifications were of great strength, and as a more formidable enemy was in the Algarves, by the counsel of Temam, whom he had made his first minister, he proposed an amnesty to the rebels, on condition of their submission within three days. The condition was accepted: Cassim was reconducted to prison; and Hixem was reproached, but spared. Some of the monarch's advisers, like true Moham-

760,

or

A. H.

143.

medans, urged the execution of the chief, on the plea that promises made to rebels were not binding. "I will not violate mine," replied the king, "even to save my throne!" Hixem was little touched by this instance of self-denying justice. Hearing that Ali ben Mogueith, the emir of Cairwan, had landed in the Algarves with a powerful army, had proclaimed the caliph of the East, and had invited all true Mussulmans to join in dethroning the usurper Abderahman, he seized on the alcazar or fortress of Toledo, massacred the royal guard, and proclaimed Abul Abbas. Not even the situation of his son, whom he had delivered as hostage to the king, and who was probably sacrificed on the occasion,* could maintain this inveterate rebel in obedience. While Bedra, the royal general, advanced against Toledo, which in the sequel submitted, the king took the road of Merida, to meet the Africans. The presumptuous Ali lost his life and 7000 of his followers on the field. His head was sent to Cairwan, and by the intrepid messenger was fastened, during the night, to a column in the market-place, with this inscription, "This is the way in which Abderahman, the successor of the Omeayas, punishes the rash and the proud!"

But with the death of Ali the war was not ended. With the remnant of the troops which escaped the fate of that leader, added to new and considerable reinforcements, Hixem, aided by the walis of Sidonia and Jaen, renewed hostilities. They had the audacity to advance even to the gates of Seville; but they were speedily dispersed by its brave governor, Abdelmelic, and pursued in turn to those of Sidonia. On this occasion, the wali of that place was mortally wounded in a sortie. Hixem with some other generals fell into the hands of the victor; who, in the fear of their being saved by the clemency of Abderahman, immediately struck off their heads. Such as escaped fled into Africa, to solicit the aid of Abdelgafir, wali of Mequinez; who boasted his descent (whether real or pretended) from Fatima, the daughter of the prophet. They were accompanied by Abdallah el Sekebeli, who landed another hostile force on the coast of Catalonia; while Abdelgafir, with a second army of Africans, chose that of Andalusia. The former expedition was soon annihilated by the walis of Tarragona, Barcelona, and Tortosa. This disaster did not prevent Abdelgafir from marching on Seville. At a short distance from that city he was met by Cassim, the youthful son

* Abderahman ordered the son to be beheaded under the walls of Toledo, if the father refused to submit. As there was no immediate submission, and as no more is known of the youth, the order was probably executed.

of Abdelmelic, who fled in a panic. But the fugitive would have been safer on the field of battle: he was instantly pierced to the heart by his indignant father, who exclaimed—"Die, coward! thou art not my son, nor dost thou belong to the noble race of Meruan!" Abdelmelic then met the enemy, and remained master of the field, when night separated the combatants. But neither party dreamed of sleep. The African hastened towards Seville to plunder it: the Arab seemed to have divined the intention; for he too marched towards that city, and came up with the enemy on the banks of the Guadalquivir. In a nocturnal action Abdelmelic was worsted, and severely wounded; and he had the greater mortification to see the Africans in possession of the city. In a transport of rage, however, he insisted on penetrating into the place; he succeeded in the attempt, and chased away Abdelgafir. The African was at length pursued by the cavalry of the king, and was intercepted at the same time by the walls of ^{A. H.} 156, Elvira and Tadmir, who thus cut off his retreat. On the banks of the Xenil he and most of his followers found a ^{or} 772. grave, in A. H. 156, or A. D. 772.*

The services and zeal of Abdelmelic and Temam were well rewarded: the former was made governor of all Eastern Spain;† the latter, who was already hagib or minister, was also invested with the command of the sea. This was no longer an empty dignity: many ships were built to defend the coast from the future expeditions of the African emirs. Dockyards were multiplied along the eastern coast, and every precaution was taken to preserve the country from invasion. But more favorable to Abderahman than all his measures, was the removal of the caliph's seat of empire from Damascus to Bagdad. The affairs of a province so distant as Spain were gradually neglected by the house of Abbas; though, as we shall hereafter perceive, attempts were sometimes made by the African governors to subjugate it. Thus Abderahman had time to consolidate his power. To this end the arts of peace were no less useful than victory. Active himself, he wished his sons to be so too. The eldest, Suleyma, he made wali of Toledo; the next, Abdalla, was placed over Merida: but lest

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, sive Chronologia Calipharum Regumque Hispaniæ et Africæ, versibus conscripti, simulque in Epitomen contracta (apud Casiri, Bib. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 197.). Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica, p. 30. (in eadem collectione). Ben Alabar, Chronologia Hispana (apud Casiri, ii. 198.). Chronicon Albeldense (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiii. 462.). Ximenes, Historia Arabum, cap. 18. And, above all, Conde, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. i. 202—226.; D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. ABDERAHMAN, &c.

† This Abdelmelic is probably the famous king Marsilla of Ariosto.

the people should suffer from their inexperience, he associated with them as *wasirs** men of approved judgment. But the most beloved of his sons was his youngest, Hixem; whose mind it was his chief aim to expand, and whose heart, naturally virtuous and benevolent, he endeavored no less successfully to improve. Yet, such is the imperfection of our nature, the father's partiality was probably owing less to the excellent qualities of the prince, than to his love for the mother, the queen Howara.

During the succeeding four years one insurrection 777, only, and that of no moment,† disturbed the repose of 778. Abderahman. But he was now menaced by an enemy more powerful than any which had yet assailed him; and one of the last perhaps he would ever have dreamed of opposing. This was no other than Charlemagne; who poured his legions over the Pyrenees into the valleys of Catalonia. The motives which brought this emperor into Spain have been matter of much dispute between the historians of the two countries. The French, naturally anxious for the fame of their monarch and nation, will not allow him to have been actuated by other than the best possible intentions; while the Spaniards generally describe his invasion as the offspring of an insatiable ambition, which in pursuit of its own gratification disregarded both religion and justice. The truth is to be found in neither: and, indeed, it is not easy to say what occasioned Charlemagne's extraordinary irruption into Navarre and Catalonia. The Arabian writers mention the fact, but they are evidently ignorant of the cause; so that all the information that can be found on the subject must be sought among the Christian historians.

The anonymous life of Charlemagne, the relation of his own secretary Eginhard,‡ and other contemporary authorities, prove beyond doubt that (probably in 777) an embassy arrived at the court of Charles, requesting his aid for the viceroy of Catalonia against the Mohammedans, and offering him in the event of success the feudal supremacy. By whom that embassy was sent is not very clear; but apparently it was dis-

* The *wali* was the governor of a large city or province; the *alcald* of a little town, or fort, or dependent jurisdiction. Each had his *wasir* or lieutenant. Some *walis* had several *wasirs*, the chief of whom presided in the absence of the *wali*.

† That of Hussein,—a harebrained, disappointed fellow of Saragossa,—whose life and ambition were soon ended.

‡ "Venit iidem loco et tempore (at Paderborn, in 777), ad regis præsentiam de Hispania Saracenus quidam nomine Ibn Alarabi, aliis Saracenis sociis suis, dedens se ac civitates quibus eum rex Saracenorum præfecerat." Eginhard, *Annales Regum Francorum*, p. 240. (apud Duchesne). To the same effect are the words of the chronicler Silerse (apud Florez, xvii. 280.).

patched by one Ben Alarabi of Saragossa. That this Ben Alarabi was not the wali or governor of that place is certain; for that officer was Abdelmelic, whose fidelity continued unshaken through life. Probably he was one of the wasirs who aimed at independence: or who at least preferred the distant nominal sway of a Christian to the onerous despotism of the Mussulman. What is undoubted is, that the offer was accepted; and that a powerful army, in two columns, passed the Pyrenees. The glory of humbling the Mohammedan faith in Spain would doubtless have much weight with this Christian emperor; but, from his subsequent acts, we may be excused for suspecting that policy, and even ambition, had as much influence over him as the interests of religion. He himself headed the division which passed into Navarre through Gascony, and his first conquest was the Christian city of Pampluna. Though the anonymous writer of the "*Annales Metenses*" asserts that he expelled the Saracens from that city, Sebastian of Salamanca, a more ancient writer, who must necessarily have known much more of the circumstances, expressly affirms that, previous to his days (A. D. 870), Moors had never been admitted either into it, or any other town of Navarre or Biscay. The walls he levelled with the ground; and thence proceeded to Saragossa, to effect a junction with the other divisions of his army, which had marched by way of Roussillon. That city quickly owned his supremacy; and so also, we are told, did Gerona, Huesca, and Barcelona, the government of which he confided to the sheiks who had invited him into the Peninsula, and had aided him with their influence. If the testimony of Eginhard be admissible, the whole country, from the Iberus to the Pyrenees, in like manner owned his authority.* How far he might have carried his arms, had not the revolt of the Saxons summoned him to a more urgent scene,† it would be useless to conjecture; but that he meditated the subjugation of the Peninsula,—of the portions held by the Christians, as well as those subject to the misbelievers,—may be reasonably inferred both from his immense preparations, and from the admission of the most ancient historians of that period. The inaction of Abderahman shows plainly enough that he was unable to cope with the imperial forces; but the result of this expedition must be acknowledged as inglorious to Charlemagne. The destruction of a Christian city, and the homage of a few feudatory governors in Catalonia, little accorded either with his religious or

* "*Ab eo totum Pyrenæi montis jugum perdomitum, et usque ad Iberum amnem.*" &c.

† Another and less honorable reason is assigned by the monk of Giloe, who spitefully intimates that the emperor was bribed to return.—*Mores Francorum, auro corruptus.*

tenor of a treaty between the two kings, a treaty on which the early Christian writers preserve a deep silence, we may infer either that the Asturian ruler had sustained some reverse, or that he turned aside the storm of threatening vengeance by concessions.* Nor is it unlikely that the unanimous relation of the Arabian writers is true, who assert that, in the infancy of their state, the yet feeble kings of the mountains were tributary to the strangers. By those writers Abderahman is said to have humbled Aurelio, the successor of Freula, who refused at first to pay the accustomed tribute; and that the same tribute was punctually exacted by him from Silo and Mauregato. The silence of the Christians as to this humiliating but inevitable subjection need not surprise us. Where the evidence on any given point is too conflicting to be reconciled, we can only adopt that solution of the difficulty which is most consonant with reason and probability. Both tell us that while the Arabs were undivided and strong, the Asturian rulers would scarcely be allowed independence within their narrow domains. Their mountains were not more inaccessible than the Pyrenees, which never arrested the progress of the victors. It was only when the weakness of the sovereigns, and the divisions of the subjects of Mohammedan Spain permitted the Christian kings to extend their conquests, and to construct new fortresses, that the latter became strong enough to set their former masters at defiance.†

A. H. 170. Towards the close of his reign, Abderahman convoked at Cordova the walis of the six great provinces, Toledo, Merida, Saragossa, Valencia, Granada, and Murcia; the walis of the twelve cities next in importance, with the wazirs of both, and his chief counsellors; for the purpose of naming his successor. As had been long anticipated, his choice fell on Hixem, the youngest and best beloved of his sons, who received the homage of the assembled chiefs. Suleyman and Abdalla,

* "In the name of God the Clement and the Merciful,

"The great king Abderahman grants peace and protection to all the Christians of Spain, clergy or laity, including those of Castile. He solemnly engages to observe this covenant, on condition that the Christians pay him annually, during the five ensuing years, 10,000 ounces of gold, 10,000 pounds of silver, 10,000 horses, as many mules, 1000 cuirasses, 1000 lances, and the same number of swords.

"Done at Cordova, the 3d day of the Moon Safr, A. H. 142. (June 5. A. D. 750.)"

Though convinced that the Christians were subject to some species of tribute, we consider this treaty to be a forgery of later times, for these reasons:—1. The word *Castile* does not appear to have been used either by Christians or Arabs before the ninth century. 2. The tribute was greater than the poor Christians could pay. 3. The Arabs, at this time, used neither cuirasses, lances, nor swords; and where could *so many* horses be found? It is strange that these obvious considerations never struck Condé, who appears to entertain no doubt that the act is authentic.

† Christian Spain, Sect. II. of the present Book.

who were present at the ceremony, showed no discontent—doubtless because they dared not—at this preference of their younger brother.

Abderahman died in 787. The chief features of his character were honor, generosity, and intrepidity, with a deeply-rooted regard for the interests of justice and religion. His views for a Mussulman were enlightened, and his sentiments liberal. Misfortune had been his schoolmaster, and he profited by its lessons. He was an encourager of literature, as appears from the number of schools he founded and endowed; of poetry, in particular, he must have been fond, or he would not have cultivated it himself. In short, his highest praise is to be found in the fact that Mohammedan Spain wanted a hero and legislator to lay the first stone of her prosperity, and that she found both in him.*

HIKEM *ben Abderahman*, surnamed *Alhadi Rhadi*,
the Just and the Good, was immediately proclaimed at
Merida, whither he had accompanied his dying father; A. H. 171
and his elevation was hailed by the acclamations of all to 174.
Spain. His mildness of manner, his love of justice, his
liberal and enlightened views, afforded his people good ground
to hope for a happy reign. But its commencement did not
correspond with the general wish, though that commencement
could scarcely be unexpected. Both his brothers revolted,
notwithstanding the anxiety of the king to live with them on
terms of fraternal affection. Probably they had calculated on
the well-known easiness of his disposition, which they consid-
ered would disincline him to war, perhaps disqualify him for
it. But they were soon undeceived. At the head of 15,000
men, Suleyman was utterly routed by the king in person;
and when with another army he advanced to the combat, he
met with the same fate at the hands of a royal general. Struck
with his elder brother's want of success, and with the energy
of Hixem, Abdalla went to Cordova, threw himself on the
monarch's generosity, and was pardoned, but not restored to
his government. After another defeat, Suleyman also submit-
ted, and was pardoned, but only on the condition of his expa-
triating himself, and residing in some town of Western Africa,
which Edris ben Abdalla had just dissevered from the sove-
reignty of the house of Abbas. The commotions which this

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, p. 197. Alhomaidus, Supplementum ad Historiam Calipharum Regumque Hispanie, p. 198. Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica, p. 30. Ben Alabar, Chronologia Hispan. p. 198. (All four in Casiri, Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii.) Ximenes, Historia Arabum, cap. 18. Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xii. 462.). Ximenes Rerum in Hisp. Gest., necnon Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud, Schottum ii. et iv.). Condé, by Mariés, i. 242—250.

rebellion had caused in Catalonia were repressed with still more facility.

The success with which Hixem had crushed these formidable insurrections roused within him the latent sparks of ambition: he now aspired to conquests not only in the Asturias, but in Gothic Gaul. He proclaimed the *Alghed*, or Holy War, which every Mussulman was bound to aid if young by personal service, if rich and advanced in years, by the contribution of horses, arms, or money. Two formidable armies were immediately put in motion; one 30,000 strong, which was headed by the hagib or prime minister, marched into the Asturias; the other, which was still more numerous, and was under the orders of Abdalla ben Abdelmelic, advanced towards the Pyrenees.

The exploits of the hagib Abdelwahid ben Mugueit were at first successful: he laid waste all Galicia as far as Lugo, and obtained immense plunder. Bermudo the deacon, king of the Asturias, was ill fitted to perform the duties of a general; but his nephew Alfonso, surnamed the Chaste, to whom he abandoned the sceptre, had the glory of freeing the infant kingdom from the invaders. A second expedition, under the hagib's son, was still more unfortunate. From this time may be dated the real independence of the Christians.

The success of the other army was not very signal. 176. After a tedious siege, Gerona, which held for France, submitted: Abdalla then passed the mountain-barrier; seized on Narbonne, which he ravaged and partly burnt; and thence advanced towards Carcassonne. On his march he encountered considerable resistance from the duke William, one of Charlemagne's generals; but in the end he was victorious. Either, however, he was unable to reduce the fortified places of Septimania, or he feared to remain there until the Franks should fall on him in greater numbers. He made no conquests, but shortly returned across the Pyrenees laden with immense plunder. The portion belonging to the king was employed in finishing the magnificent mosque which his father had commenced in Cordova.*

His ill or, at most, very partial success seems to have damped the ambition of Hixem. He now applied himself exclusively to the arts of peace,—to the encouragement of science, of religion, and of learning, and to the welfare of his people. Of his sense of justice no better proof need be adduced

* This famous mosque, we are told, was in length 600 feet, in breadth 250. It had 57 naves, supported by 1093 marble columns: 19 gates, covered with bronze of exquisite workmanship, opened to the south. The building was lighted by 4700 lamps continually burning.

than the fact, that though there was one day an article to be sold, which he would have been glad to purchase, he would allow no one to bid for it in his name, lest others who wished also to acquire it should be intimidated from opposing him, and the proprietor be thereby injured. In the seventh year of his reign he caused his son Alhakem to be recognized as his successor, and died in a few months afterwards (in 796), universally lamented by his subjects.*

The reign of ALHAKEM was one of extreme agitation. No sooner were his uncles acquainted with the death of the able and virtuous Hixem, than they resolved to assert their rights of primogeniture. Without difficulty Abdallah seized on Toledo; while Suleyman, from his residence in Tangier, caused his gold to be lavishly distributed among such chiefs as he knew were friendly to his cause. Toledo was immediately invested; but as the king suddenly departed for Catalonia, to recover some conquests made by the Franks, the siege was prosecuted with little vigor. On his triumphant return, however, and on his obtaining a signal victory over his rebel uncles, the place capitulated to his general, Amru. After this defeat Suleyman and Abdalla retreated through the mountains to Valencia. They were pursued by the king, who again triumphed over them, and more signally than before, Suleyman being left dead on the field. Abdalla now threw himself on the clemency of his nephew: he was readily pardoned, on the condition of removing to Tangier, and of leaving his two sons as hostages for his future behavior. To the elder of these sons, Esfa, the young king gave his sister in marriage, and appointed him to the government of Merida.

During this revolt, as just stated, the Franks, after reducing Narbonne, invaded Catalonia. They were invited by some Moorish rebels, who sighed after independence, or at most a nominal dependence on the emperor. The wars which followed were to both parties diversified in success, and were frequently suspended by mutual agreement. First, Huesca, Lerida, Gerona, and Barcelona immediately submitted to the Franks; but the appearance of Alhakem turned the fortune of the day. He not only recovered these important places, but passed the Pyrenees, and ravaged the country to the gates of Narbonne. The Franks,

* The same authorities as those last quoted, with the addition of Sebastianus Salmanticensis, Chronicon, No. 21. (apud Florez, xiii. 487.) Chronicon Silense, No. 28. (apud eundem, xvii. 283.) Bouges, Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de la Ville, &c. de Carcassonne, p. 65. For the affairs of the Franks in this reign, see Eginhard, Annales Regum Francorum, p. 247, (in the collection of Duchesne, tom. ii., &c.)

however, soon returned, in concert, probably, with the Asturian king, who dreaded the arms of the Moslems. The son of Charlemagne, Louis duke of Aquitaine, took Gerona, and, with the aid of the rebels, the more important city of Barcelona: Tortosa was twice besieged in vain; the third time it fell. Again did the Mohammedan king hasten to the scene of war; but he avoided measuring his arms with the formidable Frank, and contented himself with strengthening the works of other fortresses in Catalonia. In 807, Louis returned a third time, but effected little: there is even reason for believing that his general, if not himself, was defeated by the young prince Abderahman, heir to the throne of Cordova, whose valor filled the Christians with fear. Tortosa was recovered, and so ere long were Huesca and Saragossa. Still Barcelona, which had been just formed into a lordship, and many other fortresses of Catalonia, acknowledged the supremacy of Charlemagne. Dependent on Barcelona were the counts of Gerona, Urgel, Cerdana, Ampurias, &c., which were dignities first created by Louis. On these dignitaries again were dependent subaltern courts, such as those of Manresa, Vique, Berga, &c., of whom mention will be made in the proper place.*

Whilst these transactions were passing in Catalonia, A. H. 185 Alfonso the Chaste was naturally eager to profit by the division in his favor. To punish his revolt in 801, Alhakem ascended the Ebro from Saragossa, and ravaged his eastern territories. But on the return of the Mohammedan king, who left Yuzzuf ben Amru to prosecute the war, the Asturian entirely routed the forces of that general, whom he took prisoner, and for whose ransom he exacted a heavy sum. This very fact proves that the two kings were now placed on an equal footing,—that the ties of vassalage had been burst asunder by the Christian hero. In 808, Alfonso crossed the Duero, invaded Lusitania, and took Lisbon. Alhakem hastened to the theatre of war, and obtained some successes; but as Alfonso probably retired from him, and as the operations became tedious and indecisive, he at length returned to his capital, leaving the command of the army to Abdalla ben Malchi and Abdalkerim. This was the time for the Christian king to assume the offensive: he gained first a signal victory over Abdalla in Galicia, who fell on the field; and next over

* Vita Ludovici Pii Imperatoris, necnon Annales Regum Francorum (apud Duchesne Historiæ Francorum Scriptores, &c., tom. ii. 289. 348.). The Annales Metenses Rerum Francarum, and the Annales Francorum Fuldenses (apud eundem, ii. 287. 538.), have also been consulted. See also the chapter which treats of the counts of Barcelona, &c. In this place, we must not dwell on the actions of the Christians; indeed, the warlike acts of this period are almost too obscure to be noticed: their effects only are visible.

the other general, whom he routed in like manner, and whom in a second action he not only defeated, but slew. Abderahman now advanced, defeated Alfonso on the banks of the Duero, took Zamora, and compelled that king to sue for peace. However, hostilities soon recommenced, but with little advantage to either party.

From the obscure, confused, and meager relations of the early Christian writers of the new kingdom, it is impossible to form a clear, connected, and accurate narrative. They do not mention the reverses of the Asturian arms; while the successes are evidently exaggerated, and even multiplied. On the other hand, the Arabians are generally as silent with respect to their disasters, and as boastful of their achievements. If either nation had half the success contended for by their respective advocates, the destruction of the other must have been inevitable.*

Internally the reign of Alhakem was no less troubled. Scarcely was the rebellion of his uncles repressed, when ^{A. H.} 190. the tyranny of Yussuf ben Amru occasioned great disorders in Toledo. In 805, the inhabitants openly rose against the governor, whom they confined in prison; they next sent deputies to the king to justify their conduct. After hearing their complaints, Alhakem observed to Amru that his son was too young for so important a government. "If thou wilt confide it to me," replied the father, "I shall know how to keep the inhabitants tranquil." It was immediately granted to him, and fatally, as the event proved, for the oppressed people. To revenge the fancied wrong done to his son, he ground them to the earth with exactions, and imprisoned them on the slightest pretexts. But he longed for blood, and formed a pretext for shedding it; nor could the unexpected presence in Toledo of prince Abderahman prevent him from fulfilling his purpose. He invited the principal inhabitants—chiefly Mohammedans—to wait on the heir of the monarchy; but as they entered the

* Sebastianus Salmanticensis Chronicon, No. 32. (apud Florez, xiii. 486.) Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon, No. 58. (apud eundem, xiii. 453.) Ximenes, *Rerum in Hispania Gestarum*, lib. iv. cap. 12. The modern historians of Spain are those most guilty of this exaggeration—no doubt, undesignedly—for the Spaniards were always a conscientious people. If any reader will compare Ferreras, for instance, with the original authorities here quoted, he will be surprised to find in that historian so many and so signal victories gained over the misbelievers, of which no mention is made by writers almost contemporary. As these writers do not always assign the same action to the same date, nothing is easier than to multiply such actions. For example:—the two victories last recorded are doubtless those mentioned by Sebastian as happening in anno trigesimo of Alfonso's reign. But when did that prince begin his reign? According to one account, in 753; to another, in 791. Hence we have four victories, two in 813 and two in 821. This is but a small specimen of the difficulties of our task.

palace, they were seized by his soldiers, were carried into a subterranean apartment, and massacred. Four hundred heads were exposed to the terrified citizens, who were told that the execution was by the king's order. This tragical event is said to have afflicted Abderahman: why, then, did he not punish the wali?

191. About the same time a conspiracy was formed in Cordova itself, the object of which was to assassinate Alhakem, and to raise a grandson of the first Abderahman to the vacant throne. The fatal secret was revealed to the monarch's private ear by one of the sons and hostages of his uncle Abdalla, whose fortunes it was intended to raise. The very day on which this tragedy was to be perpetrated, three hundred gory heads were exhibited in the most public part of Cordova. Had his own been there, instead of them, no public sorrow would have been manifested. His severity, we may add, his cruelty, and still more, perhaps, his recent treaty with Alfonso, rendered him no favorite with the people.

This incident was not likely to assuage his appetite for blood, an appetite which is believed to have been innate in his temperament, though education and circumstances had hitherto suspended its cravings. Commensurate with its increasing intensity was his passion for luxury. He no longer delighted in reaping "the iron harvests of the field:" shut up in his palace with his female slaves, amidst the sweetest sounds of vocal and instrumental music, or witnessing the lascivious dance, he passed the whole of his time. If, however, his person was thus hidden from the eyes of his people, his existence was but too evident from the execution of his sanguinary mandates. That he might enjoy the pleasures without

200. the cares of royalty, in the year 815 he caused his son Abderahman to receive the homage of his chiefs as the wali alhadi, or successor to the throne, and on the shoulders of that prince he thenceforth laid the whole weight of government. But tyrants often tremble, as well as their oppressed subjects. To escape assassination, or the consequences of an open insurrection, he filled or surrounded his palace with a chosen guard of 5000 men, whose fidelity he secured by permanent liberal pay. To meet this extraordinary increase of expenditure, he laid an entrance duty on the merchandise which arrived in the capital. This measure excited indignation, not so much because it was oppressive as because it was novel: murmurs arose on every side, and even an open insurrection appeared certain. To crush it by terror, he ordered ten

202. men, who had refused to pay the duty, to be publicly executed. A trivial accident, however, acting like a spark

on the present inflammable spirit of the people, produced a general explosion: the guards of the ten prisoners were massacred; a few who wisely fled were pursued to the very gates of the palace, the multitude uttering terrific menaces against the author and advisers of so odious a cruelty. The desire of vengeance roused the king from his unworthy lethargy. Seizing his arms, and followed by the cavalry of his guard, he charged the mob, which, as mobs always will do, endeavored to escape when real danger approached. In a few minutes the streets of Cordova were strewn with dead bodies: such as could reach their habitations were safe; about three hundred were overtaken on the banks of the river, and were instantly impaled. But the effects did not end here: the numerous streets outside the walls of the city were levelled with the ground, and the surviving inhabitants were pardoned only on the condition of leaving Cordova for ever. With loud lamentations, the unhappy exiles departed from the scene of their former happiness: a considerable number settled in Toledo; 8000 accepted the asylum offered them by Edris ben Edris in his new city of Fez, and the quarter where they settled is at this day called the Andalusian Quarter. The fate of the far greater portion was more singular: 15,000 proceeded to Egypt, seized on Alexandria, and there maintained themselves in spite of all opposition, until the wali, by the caliph's permission, purchased their departure by a large sum of money, and by allowing them to reside on one of the isles of Greece. They chose Crete, and founded an independent government, at the head of which was Omar ben Zoaih, who had led them from the time of their leaving Cordova. In the sequel they built Candia.*

From this moment Alhakem, who acquired the sur-
name of the Cruel, was torn by incessant remorse. His ^{A. H.} imagination was continually haunted by the spectres of ^{206.}
his murdered people. Solitude was intolerable, and sleep almost impossible. In the dead of the night he called his singers and dancers, and sometimes even his ministers and judges, as if some public affair of the utmost urgency were to be examined. After making the gaping ministers listen to the music, or witness the dancing of his female slaves, he coolly bade them go home. In 821 this whimsical tyrant breathed his last.†

* Condé is at great pains to give his authorities for this extraordinary relation. It is confusedly given in Gibbon.

† Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta (Series Ommiaditarum Hispanie.) Al-homaid. Supplementum. Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica (two of these are whimsical titles.) Ben Alabar, Chronologia Hispan. (all four in the collection

A. H. 206
to 237.

ABDERAHMAN II. had long made himself beloved, both in a private capacity and as the deputy of his father: happiness was as much hoped from his reign, and as much was it alloyed by many misfortunes. The first was the hostile arrival of his great-uncle, Abdalla, son of Abderahman I., who, though on the verge of the tomb, resolved to strike another blow for empire. With his treasures this restless old man had raised troops, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. He was speedily defeated by his active kinsman; and was pursued to Valencia, within the walls of which he took shelter. This place the old man was at first disposed to defend; but he soon gave way to better thoughts, doubtless through the earnest expostulations of his two sons, Cassim and Estah, who acted as mediators; and he sent his submission to the king. In the interview which followed, Abderahman was struck with respect on beholding the venerable countenance, the long beard, and majestic appearance of his relative, whom he not only pardoned, but placed over the government of Tadmir, with independent authority, but not transmissible to Abdalla's descendants. His magnanimity on this occasion brought tears of grateful pleasure from his kindred and people. With their full sanction, a salutary law was now passed, defining the right of succession to be inherent in the children of the natural monarch, according to their primogeniture; and, where the direct heirs subsisted, excluding the other branches of the family.

In his transactions with the Christians of the Asturias and Catalonia, Abderahman was more fortunate than his two predecessors. Though the war with the former was protracted, he did not allow either Alfonso or Ramiro to gain much advantage over him. As to the Franks, who, on this occasion, had the boldness to invade his territories, they were speedily driven back, and were made to tremble for their possessions in Catalonia.* In 827, indeed, they took Barcelona; but it was recovered by the Mohammedan forces: and their influence

of Casiri, tom. ii. p. 198, &c. and 30.). Ximenes, *Historia Arabum*, cap. 19. All these, however, are very meager and very obscure authorities, and are thrown into the shade by Condé, even as spoiled by Marlés, i. 271—303.

* "Anno 815," says Eginhard, "*pax quæ cum Abulæ rege Sarraceno- rum facta est per triennium servata, velut inutilis rupta, et contra eum iterum susceptum est bellum.*" Here is an excellent reason for a war! Its issue was too dishonorable to be related: "*Quis tamen fuerit belli hujus eventus omnino nos latet,*" adds the archbishop of Paris. It is not hidden from any one who chooses to seek it. Masdeu (xii. 118, &c.) is, as usual, very unmerciful on the French. "*Un exercito Frances entra en Cataluña, y por miedo se vuelve á casa.*—*Dos exercitos Franceses destinados para Cataluña por miedo no entran,*" are the marginal indications of two consecutive chapters.

was still farther weakened by the revolt of Aizo, one of their counts, who, for some unknown reason, entered into an alliance with the king of Cordova against the emperor Louia. Three armies of Franks successively appeared in Spain, but effected nothing; while a Mohammedan fleet burned the suburbs of Marseilles. In fact, most of the petty sovereignties which France had founded were either subject to the Moors, or were aiming at independence.

Nor, after the hostile invasion of Abdalla, was the kingdom of Abderahman free from internal troubles. Merida twice revolted, on the pretext either that the public burdens were intolerable, or that they were too rigorously collected: the real cause of the commotion was the turbulence of some leading inhabitants. It was, with much difficulty, forced to submit. Toledo followed the example; and so numerous and determined were the disaffected, that the city sustained a blockade of nine years against the royal forces. Scarcely A. H. 221. were these domestic wounds closed, when a new and unexpected enemy appeared on the coasts of Lusitania. The Scandinavian vikingur, in fifty-four vessels, had spread terror along the maritime districts of France and the Peninsula. These savage northmen landed wherever there was a prospect of booty;* plundered towns and churches; consumed with fire every thing which they could not remove; and put to the sword all, of every age and of either sex, who had the misfortune to fall in their way. In short, from the terrific descriptions given of them both in the Icelandic sagas and the Christian writers of the south,† we should suppose them to have been demons rather than men. Thirteen days they assailed Lisbon; and that place would have fallen, but for the seasonable march of the neighboring walis to relieve it. The pirates reimarked with their booty; landed on the coasts of Lusitania and Algarve, which they ravaged; and ultimately 230. destroyed a great part of Seville. Such was their reputation for valor, that their retreat was seldom molested. To rebuild the ruined walls was the immediate work of the king;

* The character of this people was not unknown to Apollinaris Sidonius:—"Hostis est omni hoste truculentior. Improvisos aggreditur, prævios elabitur, spernit abjectos, sternit incautos. Si sequatur, intercept; si fugiat, evadit."—Lib. viii. epist. 6.

† Sebastian of Salamanca, who lived at the time, and the monk of Silos, say, that when the pirates landed on the coast of Galicia, they were signally defeated by Ramiro.

For the extraordinary character and daring exploits of these sons of the deep, see one of the most interesting books that has recently issued from the French press,—Depping, *Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*. The book, however, might be improved by one well acquainted with the rich stores of Danish historic literature.

and to be prepared for resistance, in the event of future piratical descents, he established a line of forts from the principal sea-ports to his capital, with facilities for communicating rapidly with one another. To add to these internal calamities, a drought of two years withered the productions of the earth; or if anything was spared by the heat, it was devoured by clouds of locusts.

These sufferings of his people must sensibly have afflicted the heart of Abderahman; and he endeavored to relieve them by importing corn from Africa, and by furnishing the unemployed with occupation. The works which he constructed in that city were of equal magnificence and utility. Mosques were erected; the streets paved; marble baths made for the convenience of the men; and, the most important of all his enterprises, water in abundance was brought from the mountains to the city by means of leaden pipes. But Abderahman was a man of letters as well as a man of science. The education of his four sons he intrusted to Mohammedan doctors of distinguished reputation, yet he himself superintended it. His delight was to be present at the literary contests of these sons, and at their disputations with the most eloquent and learned of his subjects. It was no less his delight to invite to the court, and to retain there by unexampled liberality, such, whether subjects or strangers, as had attained distinction by their talents.

Among the favorites of Abderahman was the poet Abdalla ben Xamri; who was also, as the following anecdote will prove, no less a courtier than a poet. The king had a mistress of surpassing beauty, round whose neck, in one of his passionate moments, he threw a diamond chain of immense value. Some of his prudent counsellors represented to him that he had been too lavish in his bounty,—that the chain should have been placed in the treasury against a time of need. “The brilliancy of this necklace,” replied the enamored king, “has dazzled you: you are just like the rest of men,—you place an immense value on things which in reality have none at all. What are these diamonds, when compared with the elegance and beauty of a lovely woman?” He complained to his friend Xamri of this want of taste in his ministers. “Nature,” said the courtly poet in harmonious numbers, “has many wonders; but none approaching the beauty of thy beloved slave. The finest pearls of the sea, the hyacinths formed in the bosom of the earth, have no charms comparable with those which have touched thy heart!” Abderahman, who was a poet, replied in the same strain. After paying a high compliment to the verses of his flatterer, which, he declared, were as sweet as

the perfume of the rose, as the odoriferous scent of flowery meads, and even as the youthful beauty herself, he added,—
 “My eyes and my heart are hers: if they were still mine, I would form a necklace of them to adorn the bosom of my slave!” Xamri declared that the royal verses were better than his own; that he was undeserving such praise; and that the only favor he asked of Heaven was time, not only to compose, but to proclaim, the high qualities and deeds of his patron. A rich present was sure to reward his adulation.

In 850, Abderahman caused his son Mohammed to be acknowledged wali alhadi. In 852 he died, universally lamented by his people.*

The reign of MOHAMMED I. contains little to strike the attention. He was always at war, either with the Asturians or his own subjects. Ramiro, Ordoño, and Alfonso III. successively defeated his best troops, and gradually enlarged their dominions. Not that no victories were gained by him or his generals. Two are especially named, one in Navarre, the other in Alava; but they were without result; while those of the Christians were generally followed by the reduction of some town or fortress. Alfonso amplified the Christian states nearly one half: to Galicia and the Asturias he added the rest of Leon, Old Castile, Estremadura, and a considerable portion of Lusitania. To account for this increased success, we must take into consideration the increased strength of the Christian monarchs, who were acknowledged lords paramount over Castile and Navarre,† and the weakness of the kingdom of Cordova, occasioned by its internal dissensions. At this time, too, Ramiro and his successors perfectly understood the perfidious art of profiting by such dissensions: they were ready enough to enter into an alliance with the rebels, whom they forsook whenever the Moorish monarch was victorious. The Mohammedans were no less eager to adopt the same policy. Both doubtless thought that the end would sanctify the means; a maxim, however, which an orthodox Spaniard of the present day would justly

* Authorities,—for the Spanish affairs, the Arabian fragments of Casiri, the bishops of Salamanca, the monks of Albelda and Silos, Roderic of Toledo, and Condé spoiled by Marlés; for the transactions of the Franks, Eginhard, the anonymous life of the emperor Louis, the *Annales Fuldeneses* and others, in the collection of Duchesne, *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores Coetanei*; all nearly in the pages last quoted. See also Marca, *Limes Hispanicus*, lib. iii. cap. 21. et 22. and Moret, *Anales del Reyno de Navarre*, tom. i. lib. 3. et 4.

† Castile was held as a fief of the crown of the Asturias and Leon; it was formed as a barrier against the Mohammedan inroads. For the precise extent of these conquests of the Christian kings, we must refer the reader to their respective reigns.

characterize as "*una heregia detestable*" (a detestable heresy.)

Mohammed was ultimately more successful in his contest with his subjects than with his natural enemies. Of the difficulty, however, with which this success was obtained, Muz ben Zeyad, the wali of Saragossa, and Omar, a bandit chief,

afford us abundant proof. Muza and his son, who was A. H. wali of Toledo, withstood a siege of five or six years 245. within that ancient Christian capital; and when it was compelled to capitulate (in 859), they contrived to effect their escape. Omar ben Hafs, whom the Christians call Ben Afum, was an obscure laborer or mechanic of Ronda. His soul was above, or below, his sphere; he became restless and discontented. He removed to Torgiela, but apparently with no better success; for we next hear of him as a captain of banditti amidst the hills of Andalusia. In his strong position he baffled or defied the pursuits of justice. But he at length either feared the renewed vigilance of the alcaids, or scorned his narrow limits: with his increased band he went to the frontier of Navarre, seized on a mountain fortress, and from thence extended his ravages into Aragon. He appears very soon to have subjected the neighboring peasants, who owned him as their lord, and paid him the same homage as they would have done to the proudest of the walis. As his forces increased, he assumed the tone of a sovereign, stirred up the inhabitants to revolt against the king of Cordova, and allied himself with the king Ordoño. Several important towns declared for him. The wali of Saragossa, who might have put down the rebellion in its infancy, was disaffected, and remained quiet;

252. the alcaid of Lerida, Abdelmelic, openly embraced the cause of Omar, and the example was soon followed by other local governors. Mohammed now advanced to chastise the daring rebel. Omar, seeing that open resistance would be unavailing, had recourse to cunning. By his messengers he persuaded the king that his only object in arming was to fall on the Christians his allies, that he was still a true professor of Islam, and loyal to his legitimate ruler. Mohammed praised him for his policy, promised to reward him with a good government, and actually sent his nephew, Zeid ben Cassim, with a body of Valencian cavalry, to strengthen Omar. The prince and his followers were received with respect, but were assassinated the very night of their reaching the camp of their treacherous allies. Mohammed swore to be revenged, and ordered his valiant son Almondhir with the chief force of his kingdom to crush the perfidious outlaw. Almondhir eagerly obeyed the summons, and sought out Omar, who awaited his

arrival without fear. In the bloody action which ensued, the prince triumphed; but had the rebel been aided by his ally Alfonso (Ordoño had died in the interim), the result might have been widely different. One troop of the bandits, stormed in their strong-hold, were taken and executed, with their second leader, Abdelmelic. Omar escaped into the Pyrenees, exhorting his remaining followers to submit, but promised that if his life were spared he would again be in the field with a new army. He kept his word. He offered his services to the Navarrese, gained them many fortresses; and received from them the title of king. He defeated the united forces of the wali of Saragossa and the alcaid of Huesca, and conquered the whole country as far as the Ebro. This time the king in person, with his son Almondhir, and his best officers, hastened to the field. Omar endeavored to avoid an open engagement, but was forced to defend himself, was defeated and slain. But the rebels were not yet annihilated. Calib ben Omar, who with the title inherited the warlike spirit of his father, and was destined to greater things, descended with a chosen band from the mountains of Jaca, and laid waste or rendered tributary the country on the banks of the Ebro. Almondhir advanced to measure arms with the son of his old enemy; but a whole year elapsed before he could gain any advantage over Calib, and even then his lieutenant Abdelwahir was taken prisoner, and was not delivered up without a heavy ransom. Nor was Calib taken: he retreated, or rather retired, into the mountains, until a favorable opportunity should open him a way for new undertakings.

If to these agitating scenes we add a drought of a year's duration, the third which had visited Spain within the short period of twenty years; an earthquake which swallowed several towns, and another invasion of the Normans, who ruined the places on the coast of Andalusia, and plundered the superb mosque of Algeziras, some idea may be formed of the disasters of this reign.*

Mohammed, like his father, was a man of letters, and a friend to genius. But that his character was somewhat sterner, appears from his persecutions of his Christian subjects, the only stain on his character as a ruler. Yet he was indulgent with his friends; and the following anecdote, though trifling in itself, may give us an insight into the ordinary diversions and

* The *Annales Bertiniani* say that the Normans ravaged the country to the very gates of Valencia:—"usque ad Valentiam civitatem devastando perveniunt." This is very probable, though not mentioned by the Arabic writers of Spain.

common familiarities of these Mohammedan monarchs. One day his secretary, Abdalla ben Ausim, on entering his apartment, found him playing with some little children; one he held on his lap. "What wantest thou with me on such a day as this?" asked the king (there was a tremendous thunder-storm raging at the time). "Is this weather for business?" "Thy highness knows," replied the minister, "that where there are children there is safety."* He then repeated some original verses, to the effect, that when the thunder roars, men should be surrounded by little children; and that if a banquet were added, the danger would be diminished. "Dost thou not see the trees of thy garden how they are now bent with rain, now shaken by the wind? Whilst they are groaning in the storm, let the cup go round, filled even to the brim with delicious sahba!"† The king smiled at his secretary's verses, ordered a collation to be served, and singers and dancers to be introduced. While eating, he told the little boy on his knee to throw a cup at the head of Abdalla.‡ The poet, however, eluded the blow, and in his usual strain said, "Lovely child, be not so cruel; cruelty becomes not a countenance so beautiful as thine!" The king praised the temper and poetry of his minister, and offered him as a present the boy, which was not his own, or 10,000 *adhirams*.§ The latter, who saw that the boy was a favorite, took the money.

The death of Mohammed was sudden. One summer evening he was seated in his garden, conversing with several of his ministers and servants. "How happy is the condition of kings!" exclaimed Haxem ben Abdelass, the courtly wali of Jaen; "for them the pleasures of life are expressly made. Delightful gardens, splendid palaces, immense riches, the instruments and means of luxury—every thing, in short, has been granted them by the decrees of fate!"—"The path of kings," replied the more experienced monarch, "is, indeed, in appearance, strewed with flowers; but thou seest not that these roses have their thorns. And is it not the destiny of the mightiest prince to leave the world as naked as the poorest peasant? The term of our lives," he added, "is in the hands of God; but to the good that term is the commencement

* This superstitious but natural notion is common at this day among the Mohammedans: the innocence of the child may save the guilty man.

† A sort of claret which the Moslems manufacture to elude the prohibitions of the Koran with respect to the purple juice of the grape.

‡ A common amusement of Mohammedan despots when in good humor. These princely frolics are highly applauded by the Arabic writers of Spain, especially when, as was nearly always the case, blood flowed from the wound. If the sufferer pulled a wry face, the despot's mirth was heightened.

§ About 120*l.* sterling

of everlasting bliss." While uttering these commonplace truths,—and little above common-place observation is to be found in the whole range of Mohammedan wisdom,—he little thought his own term was so near. He retired to rest, but awoke no more on earth.*

ALMONDHIR, who in his father's lifetime had been declared wali alhadi, ascended the throne with the prospects of a happy reign, but these prospects were soon to be blasted. A. H. 273.

No sooner did Calib ben Omar hear of Mohammed's death, than he descended from his mountains, was joined by thousands of partisans, and was successful beyond his most sanguine hopes. Huesca, Saragossa, and Toledo opened their gates to him. The whole kingdom was in consternation or in joy, according to the loyalty or disaffection of the people. It is certain that the new king had not many friends, and those few he soon lost. With his well-known spirit, however, he ordered his hagib, Haxem ben Abdelasis, to invest Toledo. The minister was as much outwitted by the artful rebel as Mohammed had been by that rebel's father, and in a manner nearly similar: his indiscretion was fatal; for nothing less than his head would satisfy the implacable Almondhir, who even displaced and imprisoned his two sons, both walis. The tyrant's own end was near; for in the second year of his reign he fell in battle with the formidable Calib.

The reign of ABDALLA, the brother and successor of Almondhir, was destined to be as troubled as that of any of his predecessors. One of the first revolts was headed by his eldest son Mohammed, who was dissatisfied, first with the restoration of the sons of Haxem, his personal enemies, to the favor of the king, and next, perhaps, with his own dependent situation. He was joined by his brother Alkassim, 275
to
300.

* Sebastianus Salmanticensis, *Chronicon*, in regno Ordonii (apud Florez, tom. viii.). We here part with the good bishop, whose work ends with the reign of Ordoño I. *Monachi Silensis Chronicon*, Nos. 35. 48. (apud eundem, xvii. 290, &c.). *Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon*, Nos. 47. 60. (apud eundem, xiii. 450, &c.). Ximenes, *Berum in Hispaniæ Gestarum lib. iv. cap. 14. 16.* Idem, *Historia Arabum*, cap. 90, &c. See also the *Vestis Serica* of Abu Bakir, the *Vestis Acu Picta* of Abu Abdalla, the *Chronologia* of Ben Alabar, and the *Supplementum* of Alhomaid (apud Casiri, *Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. Escurial.* tom. ii.). Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, lib. i. cap. i. 8. A most invaluable work. Favyn, *Histoire de Navarre*, liv. ii. p. 60, &c. A very stupid one. Moret, *Anales de Navarre*, tom. i. A critical and elaborate one. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, *Histoire de la Domination*, &c., i. 333. 359. Deppey, *Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*, passim. Marca, *Limes Hispanicus*, lib. iii. cap. 28, 29. The *Annales Bertiniani*, the *Annales Fuldenses*, and the *Annales Regum Francorum* (in the invaluable collection of Duchesne), may also be consulted. The authorities, especially where the affairs of the Franks are concerned, are too numerous to be cited.

and by the chief walis of Andalusia. After various alternations of fortune, he was defeated by his younger brother Abderahman, was severely wounded in the battle, and was committed to a dungeon by the victor, until the king's pleasure could be known. There he died, whether in consequence of his wounds, or by violence, is uncertain. Alkassim was pardoned; but ere long he engaged in another rebellion, and lost his liberty.

But the greatest affliction of the king was the continued triumph of the rebel Calib. Toledo, to which the latter had retired, was ultimately besieged and relieved. He frequently left the place to fall on the royal generals, or even on Abdalla himself; and if intercepted in his return to that city, he had many other fortresses to which he could retreat, and where he could defy the whole force of the Moors. He had even the audacity to make war on king Alfonso, then at peace with Abdalla. If, as we are assured, he sent into the field an army of 60,000 men, he might well think himself strong enough to contend with kings. But Alfonso, the greatest prince of his race, had never been defeated in any of his numerous battles with the Moors. Near Zamora he encountered the misbelievers, whom he routed with great slaughter. But the intrepid rebel was not disheartened by this signal disaster: he prepared to defend his royal title and his possessions with renewed vigor. He even carried his boldness so far as to appear privately in Cordova, where the king was. This astonishing feat proves that he had many concealed friends about the court—many who were probably ready to assist in dethroning the lawful monarch. But his temerity on this occasion was near proving fatal to him. The manner in which his presence in the city was discovered is singular. One Suleyman, who had been ^{A. H.} ^{203.} ^{man,} who had been ^{cadi} of Merida, who had rebelled and been pardoned, wrote a sharp lampoon, against both Abdalla and his ministers. The author was soon discovered, and brought into the royal presence. "I very much fear, my dear Suleyman," said the king, "that I have thrown my favors away on thee: certainly I do not merit thy poetical reproaches. I might punish thee, but I will let thee live. I am even willing that thou repeat thy verses to me whenever I am in the humor to hear them; and to show thee how highly I think of them, thou shalt pay me a thousand dinars* for every one thou composest." The poor poet threw himself at the king's feet, was at length pardoned, and in the gratitude of the moment induced to say, that Calib was at that moment in the

* A golden dinar was in value about eight shillings of our money.

city. But the very means taken to secure the arch-rebel led to his escape. Lest Suleyman should acquaint the bold outlaw with the danger, he was momentarily confined in prison: the imprisonment made a noise; the partisans of Calib, suspicious of something wrong, advised their leader to escape, and he did escape in the disguise of a beggar. He was afterwards defeated in a pitched battle, in which he lost nearly all his cavalry: he retreated to Toledo, where he shut himself up until the death of Abdalla.

Abdalla died in 912, leaving behind him the character of a mild, just, and enlightened ruler. Concerning his private character there is an anecdote, which, as it throws some light both on this point and on the manners of the nation and times, may be introduced here. There was a captain of the Berber guard, Suleyman by name, who was also a wazir and member of the council of state, distinguished for strict morals and high honor, but blunt, irascible, and too proud to be the willing slave of a despot. Like most of the Berbers he was noted for a long black beard, which formed a striking contrast with the short bushy ones of their comrades the Scythian guards;* and this venerable symbol of manhood he probably prized more than his life. Entering one day into the king's apartment, the latter, who was noted for facetiousness, repeated to him some verses in which long beards were turned into ridicule,—as indicative of any thing but long heads,—and concluded by saying, "Sit down, long beard!" The wazir obeyed; but his blood boiled with indignation, and he could not forbear replying—"We," (the Berbers,) "a numerous people, surely deserved to be called fools for coming so far to crawl in the palaces of kings. What humiliations might we not have avoided! It is ambition which blinds us, and we do not see our stupidity until we descend into the grave." He then arose, and left the palace, without deigning to notice the king. Abdalla was somewhat surprised at his manner, and still more so when some days elapsed without his appearance at court. A wazir was sent to appease the offended African: but he had great difficulty in obtaining an entrance; and even when suffered to pass the threshold, his reception was insulting: Suleyman neither rose, nor invited him to sit. "Why dost thou not rise to receive me?" asked the offended messenger: "am I not a wazir like thyself?"—"Such ceremony," replied Suleyman, "was well enough so long as I was a vile slave like thee; but now I have broken my chains!" Not all the expostulation of the wazir

* These Scythians or Slavonians were first formed into a guard by Alhakim, and were as renowned for their fidelity as the Swiss of much later times.

could prevail on the independent African to resume his employment, or even to revisit the palace; and Abdalla regretted that, through a harmless joke, he was deprived of the service of a man whose fidelity and judgment he had long learned to value.*

A. H. On the death of Abdalla, the throne of Mohammedan
300 Spain was filled by ABDERAHMAN III., son of the rebel
to prince Mohammed, who had so mysteriously died in
350. prison, and, therefore, grandson of Abdalla. Why the
deceased king did not procure the elevation of his own
son Abderahman, surnamed Almudafar, or the Victorious, surprised many, but grieved none. Though Almudafar was a hero, and had even been the firmest support of the throne, his disposition was stern, and his heart unrelenting; while the young Abderahman, from his mildness of manner, his generosity, and his astonishing progress in learning, was the universal favorite of the nation. All testified unfeigned joy, when Abdalla, from his bed of death, set aside the dark and gloomy Almudafar from the succession, and caused the hopeful Abderahman to be acknowledged as wali alhadi. And that joy could only be equalled by their surprise, when they saw Almudafar himself among the foremost to recognize Abderahman as the lawful successor of his father. The truth is, he loved his nephew, whom he continued through life to serve with unshaken fidelity; and that nephew felt in return for him an affection little less than filial. By universal acclamation the new king was hailed as *Amir-al-mumenin*,† or prince of the believers, and *Anasir-ledin-Alla*, defender of the faith of God. It is difficult to account for the yielding of this spiritual homage to the young prince; but the fact is certain, that he was the first of his family to assume the title and honors of caliph.

After laboring with success to pacify the partisans of the Abbasides, who at first regarded his assumption of the spiritual character as little less than blasphemous, Abderahman resolved to exterminate the audacious rebels who had, so long distracted the kingdom. The son of Omar ben Hafs still reigned at Toledo over nearly one half of Mohammedan Spain, viz., over all Aragon and Catalonia, as far as the Ebro and the Segre, over the sea-coast from Tortosa to Murcia, and over the inland country from Talavera to the source of the Tagus. The king of Navarre too was his ally. To contend with this formidable adventurer, Abderahman assembled a select militia-

* Authorities, chiefly the same as those last quoted.

† Which has been strangely corrupted into *Miramamoln*.

ry force of 40,000 men, and took the field. Calib, or Aben Hafsun, as he is usually termed, seeing that reinforcements were necessary, left a strong garrison in Toledo, and retired towards Valencia to collect troops. But if his dominion was extended, it was weak, because it was founded on fear or caprice, not rooted in the hearts of the people. The fortresses on all sides submitted to the king: Toledo, however, was evidently resolved to hold out; and, as the operations of the siege must necessarily be tedious, Almudafar advised the king to march without delay on Valencia, and end the war by securing the rebel. The advice was followed; but Calib did not wait for his pursuers: at the head of an army formidable in point of numbers, but almost undisciplined, he met them on the banks of the Xucar. If he was himself an army, so also was Almudafar. The contest was long maintained with obstinacy; but in the end victory declared for the king: 7000 of the rebel and 3000 of the royal forces were left on the field. The consequences of this success were important: the whole of eastern Spain submitted to Abderahman.

Not less successful was the king against some other rebels dependent on Calib, who, during the late reign, had intrenched themselves in the mountains of Andalusia, and had seized Elvira. He triumphed too without shedding blood: but Calib himself long held out against the power of Abderahman. Though so many towns escaped from his sway, he still contrived to retire from fortress to fortress, to withstand anew the eager assaults of Almudafar. At length he died a natural death at Huesca, one of the most extraordinary examples of successful and long-continued rebellion on record. It may even be doubted whether all the force of the king could have driven him from the field, had he not been deserted by his hitherto firm ally, the king of Navarre. And now when dead, his spirit seemed to preside over his former associates. His two sons, who divided his remaining possessions, and who retired into Aragon and Catalonia, were not wholly subdued until 944. Soon after his death, too, the mountaineers of Andalusia again revolted, defeated the wali of Jaen, and for two years withstood the assaults of Abderahman's best troops; nor did they desist until he levied a formidable army, and pursued the outlaws,—for such they were. With no less pertinacity did Toledo preserve its character of a rebel city: it withstood a siege, though pressed by a great force, and yielded only when its provisions were entirely consumed.

The pacification of his kingdom allowed Abderahman leisure to dream of ambition, which opportunity seasonably aided.

Yahia ben Edris, the eighth sovereign of Fez, besieged in his capital by Obeidala, the first caliph of the Fatimites,* could escape subjugation only by the offer of all his treasures, and by renouncing his independence. But this inglorious security was of short duration: the emir of Mequinez, Aben Alafia, entered his capital, and compelled him to flee. The friends of the deposed Yahia applied for aid to Abderahman, who, remembering the ancient services rendered by the Zenets, the supporters of Yahia, to his family, dispatched the wali of Majorca, and his emir of the sea, to act in concert with the sheiks of that tribe. Though alive to the claims of gratitude, he was eager for the extension of his dominions,—for the establishment alike of his temporal and spiritual authority on the opposite coast. His troops immediately occupied the cities of Tangier and Ceuta; and Aben Alafia, convinced that he could not withstand both the king of Cordova and the caliph, acknowledged the former as his liege lord. He was driven away by the latter; and though the place was recovered by the troops of Abderahman, it was again lost after the accession of Abulcassim, the son of Obeidala. These indecisive but bloody struggles wasted the strength of the king. His frequent contests with the Christians prevented him from sending any considerable force to the scene of action; and it may be doubted whether all his forces would ultimately have enabled him to recover the kingdom of Fez to his empire. He seems, indeed, to have multiplied his enemies, not only without necessity, but in the very wantonness of his power. A ship of his took one belonging to the soldan of Egypt: the soldan, incensed, sent a fleet to capture the pirate, which with several others, was taken and burnt, even in one of the Spanish ports. To satisfy the offended dignity of Abderahman, Ahmed ben Said, his hagib, proceeded with a body of cavalry to Almagreb, strengthened himself by the Andalusian soldiers, who were almost inactive in that country, and at the head of 25,000 horse, marched on Tunis, one of the richest possessions of the Egyptian ruler. The place was invested by sea and land, and was at length compelled to purchase its safety, not only by an enormous contribution, but by the surrendering of a whole fleet which lay in the harbor. The soldan vowed revenge; and though his death intervened, the pious duty devolved on his successor, Maad ben Ismail, who could

* Whether the Fatimites were really descended from the daughter of the prophet, can never be proved. Confiding in the reputed sanctity of his origin, Obeidala placed himself at the head of some discontented Africans, seized on the African province, and on the states of Fez. His successors conquered Egypt. The line ended A. H. 567 (A. D. 1171, 1172), after fourteen caliphs, who reigned 172 Arabian years.

not behold without jealousy and hatred the increasing power of Abderahman in Almagreb. The last heir of the house of Edris had secretly and solemnly placed himself under the protection of the Cordovan king, and the latter had thereby obtained an influence which his arms would never have secured: indeed, the prince of that house had taken up his residence in Spain, and Almagreb was ruled by a wali of the protector. A powerful army of African troops, under the command of Gehwar el Rumi, marched against the wali A. H. 348. of Almagreb. The latter made a noble stand; but being assassinated in the midst of the contest, his troops fled to the fortress of Tangier. Gehwar continued his victorious career, until Fez, the capital, fell into his power: he massacred 349. the garrisons (troops of Abderahman), plundered the houses, levelled the fortifications with the ground, and with the captive wali returned triumphant to Cairwan. This intelligence filled the king with fury: he dispatched another and a more formidable army to reconquer the whole of Fez,—an object which, as the greater part of the troops of Gehwar had retired, was not difficult to be attained. But his own experience might have taught him how much more easy it was to make than to preserve conquests in a country like Almagreb.

But the most memorable of the warlike exploits of this king were against the Christians of Leon and the Asturias. Soon after the accession of Abderahman, Ordoño II. invaded the Mohammedan possessions, and, if any faith is to be had in the chroniclers of his nation, he ruined Talavera, and obtained many other advantages,—advantages,* however, of which not the slightest mention is made by the Mohammedan writers. In short, from the accession of Ordoño to some time after that of Ramiro II., not one of the successes derived by the Christians is acknowledged by the Moors. On the contrary, the latter loudly assume the honor of several actions, of which one only is obscurely hinted at by the bishop of Astorga. To reconcile such contradictions is impossible; and the historian, rejecting alike the boasted victories of either party, when unconfirmed by the other, can advert to such events only as either have place in the accounts of both, however widely both may differ in the

* We cannot reconcile the accounts of the Christians with those of the Arabian writers. At every page contradictions impossible to be harmonized are encountered. Each party lays claim to victories which the other does not even mention; while each ascribes to the other reverses which are concealed by the reputed losers. Both loudly claim for their respective nations the honor of continued conquest. Neither are to be believed: each concealed its failures, and monstrously exaggerated its successes. Is this dishonesty or ignorance? There is sometimes as much of the former as of the latter. In general, however, the Moors are probably more entitled to credit than the Christians. The former enter into details, while the latter only favor us with confused generalities.

circumstances and results, or are founded on reason and probability, and appear deducible from the opposite relations.

From the conflicting statements of the two hostile writers, it appears certain that in 932 Ramiro II. made an irruption into the states of Abderahman, and ruined Madrid,—the Mohammedans say Talavera, probably confounding the present campaign with the one made by Ordoño II.—and that the king of Cordova, in revenge, sent Almudafar to invade Galicia. That hero, say the historians of his nation, made terrible reprisals on the subjects of Ramiro, thousands of whom he brought away captive, with an immense booty, and defeated Ramiro himself on the banks of the Duero. The Christians, on the other hand, tell us, that their hero triumphed over the misbelievers on the plains of Osuma (which is on the banks of that river), of whom he slew a great number, and made many thousands of captives.* And this account is the more probable, from the fact that, after their success, the Christians penetrated into Aragon; laid siege to Saragossa; and would doubtless have reduced that important city, had not the wali acknowledged himself a feudatory of the king of Leon. But this advantage seems to have been counterbalanced by the victory gained in 938, at a place called Sotuscobas (probably Covarrubias), in which the loss of the Christians is said by the Arabian writers to have been very considerable,—a loss but obscurely hinted at by a writer almost contemporary,† and still less noticed, if possible, by succeeding Christian historians. To repair this check Ramiro assembled his whole military force, including, no doubt, that of Castile,‡ under Fernan Gonzalez; and, to profit by it, Almudafar and Abderahman, at the head of 100,000 men, hastened to Salamanca, the place of rendezvous for the Mussulman troops. They next invested Zamora; but hearing that Ramiro was approaching with a formidable army, Abderahman advanced to meet him with 80,000 men. The combat which ensued was the most obstinate, and beyond comparison the most bloody, that had been fought between Christians and Moors since the days of Roderic. Almudafar and the king on one side, and Ramiro with his gallant heroes on

* "Quo audito (the approach of the Saracens), exercitum movit rex, et obviam illis exivit in locum qui dictu Exoma, ac nomen Domini invocando acies ordinare jussit, et omnes viros ad bella parare præcipit. Divina juvante clementia, dedit illi Dominus victoriam, magnam partem ex eis occidit, multa millia captivorum secum adduxit," &c.—*Sampirus Astoricensis in regno Ramiri II.*

† "Iterum venerunt Sarraceni Cordubenses, frugerunt Sotuscoba," is all that Sampiro condescends to say of a battle, which the Arabian authorities in Cassiri (tom. ii. p. 49. et 200.) represent as so glorious to the Mohammedans.

‡ See the Chapter on the history of Castile.

the other, performed prodigies of valor: the plain was strewed with dead. There can be no doubt that victory shone on the banners of the Christians, notwithstanding the assertion of the Mohammedan writers, who say that Ramiro was driven from the field. But that the success was so splendid as the Christians pretend,—that 80,000 of the Moors fell on this memorable day, is too monstrous to be believed.* According to the Arabian writers, that number only—yet it is surely large enough—left Zamora, 20,000 out of the original 100,000 remaining to invest that fortress. And if their account is to be credited,—and the minute circumstances attending it give it all the air of truth,—Abderahman captured the fortress on his return to Cordova.

During the rest of don Ramiro's reign one battle only is said by the Christians to have been fought between the Moors and him, in which he was of course victorious. But if the Mohammedans are to be believed, that hero was defeated in 941 by Abdalla, wali of the frontier; and again in 949 by Abderahman in person. Yet this last campaign is the one which Sampiro records as favorable to the Christian king,—as one in which the Moors lost 12,000 on the field, and 7000 prisoners. Such are the irreconcilable contradictions to be found at every step in the histories of the two nations!—From the death of Ramiro to that of Abderahman in 961, the only instance in which the latter interfered with the Christians, was in supporting the claim of Sancho the Fat to the crown of Leon.

In his internal administration Abderahman was distinguished for great capacity of mind, for unbounded liberality, for unrivalled magnificence, and for inflexible justice. The foundation of the palace and town of Medina-Azhará, about two leagues from Cordova,—the former distinguished for all the splendor of art and wealth, the latter for a mosque which rivalled that of Cordova,—attested his taste and luxury. The roof of the palace is said to have been supported by above four thousand pillars of variegated marble, the floors and walls to have been of the same costly material, the chief apartments to have been adorned with exquisite fountains and baths; and the whole to have been surrounded by the most magnificent

* "*Deleta sunt ex eis octoginta millia Maurorum*," says Sampiro, the Christian writer who lived nearest to the period, and who is followed by the monks of Silos. "The number," says Ferreras (Hermilly's translation, tom. iii. p. 54.), "appears so great, that we should not credit it were it not attested by all historians native and foreign." This is culpable carelessness. Ferreras very well knew that the Christians writers after Sampiro only copied him, and that the bishop was therefore the only authority for such a statement. Masdeu, who had the advantage of consulting the fragments of Casiri, meager as they are, makes 80,000 the number slain in the two battles above recorded. The truth is doubtless as stated in the text.

collected an extensive library, the unfinished catalogue of which, in the time of Aben Hayan, reached forty-four volumes. On his accession, that he might devote his chief time to the public administration, yet not neglect interests so dear to him, he confided to one of his brothers the care of his library, and to another the duty of protecting literary institutions, and of rewarding the learned. His reign is the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain.*

In his favorite retreat, the palace of Azhara, this excellent prince passed the greater part of his reign. Strict in the observance of his laws; as moral in his private life as a Mussulman could be; an enemy to all vices but adultery; a zealous promoter of every thing which could add to the morality, the knowledge, or the prosperity of his people; Alhakem led a quiet, an unostentatious, and a happy life—one assuredly which could number a hundred-fold more days of enjoyment than fell to the lot of the father. But for this very reason his life affords few materials for history. He appears never to have been engaged in war with the Christians; for though the Arabian writers mention the siege and reduction of an Estefano de Gormas by the king in person, no mention is made of such a fact by the contemporary bishop of Astorga. There is mention, indeed (but not in Sampiro), of a battle between the count of Castile and a general of the Moors; and to this circumstance the Arabic relation may, probably, be attributed. As both parties, however, claim the victory, as usual, for their own nation, it is impossible to say which is right. In Africa, his general, Calib, successfully repressed an insurrection of two local governors, and rendered the walis of Fez again dependent on the throne of Cordova.†

366 As HIXEM II., the son and successor of Alhakem, was
to but eleven years old when he ascended the throne, the
403. regency was conferred by the queen-mother on her secretary, Mohammed ben Abdalla, a man of great genius, valor, and activity. Mohammed, better known as Almansor, may, in fact, be regarded as the king; for he alone throughout life governed the realm. Hixem was too feeble, too des-

rum, lib. iv. cap. 12. to lib. v. cap. 9. Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi* (apud Schottum, *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. iv. pp. 81–84.). Abu Abdalla, *Vestis acu Picta*, p. 201, &c. Ben Alabar, *Chronologia*, p. 201. Abu Bakir, *Vestis Serica*, p. 37, &c. (apud Casiri, *Bibliot. Arab. Hisp.* tom. ii.). Ximenes, *Historia Arabum*, cap. 30. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, i. 390–466. We may well say *spoiled*, for he has sadly blundered the Christian affairs in this reign.

* See the concluding chapter in the present book, in which allusion is made to the chief historians and poets of Arabic Spain.

† The same authorities as before.

picable, too much addicted to slothful pleasures, to command even the passing notice of the people.

The wars of Almansor with the Christians, which 367
proved so fatal to them, occupy the most prominent part to
of his administration. Without acquainting them with 392.
his intention to disturb a peace which had continued during the reign of Alhakem, in A. H. 367 he penetrated into Galicia, where booty and captives in abundance rewarded the avarice of his followers. In the two years succeeding, he frequently renewed his incursions, both into Galicia and Tarragona, without encountering much opposition. Under an infant king, the Christians were too much occupied with their internal dissensions to unite even in defence of their country. In short, his destructive inroads are said to have occurred twice every year during a great part of his life; so active was his hostility to the enemies of the crescent. But the Christians were not always surprised by the celerity of his movements. In 370, both armies met near the walls of Leon. When the regent beheld the dense ranks of his opponents, he naturally felt some anxiety for the result. Turning to one of his generals, he asked,—“How many good soldiers dost thou think we may number in this army of ours?”—“Thou shouldst know thyself,” replied Mustapha. “I do not,” said Almansor: “dost thou think there is a thousand?”—“A thousand! nothing like the number.”—“Are there five hundred?”—“No!”—“Fifty?”—“To speak candidly,” replied Mustapha, “I would not vouch for more than three!” Almansor, in great surprise, wished an explanation of his general’s meaning, and he soon received it. A Christian knight, in conformity with the heroic manners of the times, had just presented himself at the camp of the Moslems, and challenged any one to a single combat. Two accepted it, and were successively deprived of life and armor by the victor. As no third opponent appeared, he cried out with a loud voice,—“Why do ye loiter! Come all, one by one; and if that does not please ye, come two at once!” The Christians applauded, the Moslems foamed with indignation, until an Andalusian horseman left the ranks to encounter the knight. Nor was this third antagonist more fortunate; a mortal wound laid him on the ground. Amidst the loud hurrahs of the Christians, the victor mounted a fresh horse, and returned to challenge the whole host of the misbelievers. Almansor, who witnessed the last feat, ordered no one to leave the ranks, and turning to Mustapha, observed,—“Thou art right; I had, indeed, but three men of valor among my common soldiers.”—“I have witnessed the three combats,” replied the general, “and can vouch that there has been no

unfairness. That knight is certainly a hero, and I am not much surprised that our Mussulmans are afraid."—"Say dishonored!" returned Almansor. "Hear his insulting bravadoes! I can bear them no longer; and if thou wilt not fight him, I will send my son, or go myself!"—"Leave the business to me!" quickly rejoined Mustapha. "Dost thou perceive that beautiful tiger-skin which covers his horse? It shall soon be thine!"—"Nay, conquer and keep it thyself!" said Almansor, as his general advanced towards the Christian. The knight keenly eyed his fourth antagonist, and with all the pride of ancestry and of chivalry demanded,—“Who and what art thou?”—"Here is my nobility!" replied Mustapha, as he shook his lance.† The combat immediately commenced, and was long maintained with vigor; but in the end the Mussulman, who was better mounted, through superior dexterity or luck, severely wounded the Christian, who reeled in his saddle, and fell to the ground. Mustapha dismounted, cut off the knight's head, and returned with it and the tiger-skin to Almansor, who received him with open arms. The Christians are represented by their enemies as discouraged in the same degree as the Moslems were elated by this incident; and, in the general action which ensued, as routed with great slaughter. On the other hand, the Christians lay claim to the glory of the action; the Mussulmans, say they, retreating during the night of the day on which the conflict took place. Each, however, admits that the success was dearly purchased; and impartiality must conclude that the battle was indecisive. In the next campaign, (A. D. 371,) Almansor not only reduced Zamora,—a place which, from its frontier position, was always changing its masters,—but took possession of many other fortresses in the neighborhood, returning, as usual, with immense plunder, and numerous captives.‡ The ensuing campaigns were no less successful: they are, however, too numerous to be particularized. It will be sufficient to state, that in A. D. 963 he took Gormaz; in 964, Simancas; in 966, Sepulveda; in 967, he destroyed Coimbra, which, however, the Moors

* Among the Arabs, the spoils won, even in individual combats, were usually added to the common heap, and divided after the battle; among the Christians, each knight retained what he won.

† This is the earliest instance we recollect of Mussulmans substituting the lance for the scimitar, and fighting in knightly armor. They were obliged, through self-defence, to adopt the same weapons as their opponents. Their flimsy turbans and mantles would have been poor safeguards against the ponderous blows or fierce thrusts of the Christian knights. In the sequel, they learned to handle these weapons, not, perhaps, so powerfully as the stronger-limbed Castilian, but certainly more dexterously.

‡ The Arabs say 19,000, the Christians 4,000 only. How arrive at the truth?

themselves soon rebuilt; in 960, he reduced Atienza, Osma, and Alcoa; in 962, Montemayor; in 964, San Estevan and Coruña; in 965, Aguilar; in 967, the important cities of Leon and Astorga, with a great number of inferior places; and in the same year he laid waste the whole of Galicia, not sparing even the holy precincts of Compostella.* His restless barbarity, and still more his innumerable acts of sacrilege, are dwelt upon with indignant wonder by the old chroniclers. But many precious things escaped his fury; and many more, such as the bodies of saints and kings, were removed by the terrified Christians from Leon to Oviedo,—for the mountains of the Asturias again became the inaccessible asylum of the native monarchy. The bells of Compostella were sent to Cordova, to be melted into lamps for the famous mosque of that city. But the indignant saint sought for revenge;† for, on their return to Cordova, the misbelievers were seized with a violent dysentery, which carried off the greater portion of them: comparatively few—if the bishop of Astorga is to be believed, not one—returned to the Mohammedan capital. Later writers than Sampiro assign—perhaps with truth—much of the honor to the Christians, who, on learning the extent of the disease, pursued the misbelievers, and cut off such as Santiago would have spared. However this be, on the departure of the invaders, the Christians issued from their mountains, rebuilt their ruined towns, and restored to its ancient splendor the church of Compostella.‡

During these successful operations against the kings of Leon, Almansor had time to signalize his administration in other parts. In A. H. 374, he seized on Barcelona; and would have carried his victorious banners to the Pyrenees, had not his march been arrested by intelligence

A. H.
374
to
390.

* The voracious historians of Compostella assure us, that when the infidel was about to violate the tomb of Santiago, there issued out a dazzling light, which filled him with so much horror and fear that he desisted from his wicked purpose.

† "Parece que el santo," says Masdeu (xii. 173). "quiso castigar el insulto que se le habia hecho; pues vino una disenteria." &c. Sampiro ascribes the revenge to one higher than the saint; "Sed Rex noster celestis non est oblitus Christianam plebem; misit in Agarenis infirmitatem ventris et nemo ex eis unus remansit qui rediret in patriam unde venerat." Is this the cholera?

‡ Sampirus Astoricensis Episcopus, Historia, in Regno Ramiri III. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv.). We here part with the bishop. Monachi Silensis Chronicon (apud eundem, xvii. 308, &c.). Pelagius Episcopus Ovetensis, Chronicon Regum Legionensium, No. 1, &c. (apud eundem, xiv. 494, &c.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. v. cap. 15. et 16. et Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi, (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv.) See also the fragments of Casiri, and Condé, spoiled by Marién, ii. 47.

from Africa. Alhasam, an emir of Almagreb, who during the late reign had usurped the government of the whole province, and been expelled by Calib, had fled to Egypt. By Nazar, the sultan of that country, he had been favorably received; and on his return he bore an order to the governor of Tunis to provide him with 3000 horse, and some Berber infantry. His little army was speedily reinforced; for in that country, more perhaps than any other on the face of the earth, he who endeavored to disturb existing institutions was sure to receive some degree of co-operation. The general of Almansor,—for Hixem was nobody,—was defeated, and compelled to seek refuge in Ceuta. But Abdelmelic, the son of Almansor, hastened to the scene of strife, and in two battles annihilated the forces of his enemy, whom he made prisoner; and who, though relying on the faith of treaties, was sent to Spain, and executed. With Alhasam ended the dynasty of the Edris, which had ruled in Fez about two hundred years. In A. H. 376, however, the flames of war were rekindled by Balkin ben Zeiri, and nourished by his son and successor. To describe the petty details of hostilities every day recurring, and uniformly alike, would be useless labor: it is sufficient to say, that after various alternations of fortune the country was pacified by the victories of Abdelmelic, who was rewarded by the dignity of emir of Almagreb.

392. But the chief attention of the hagib was always turned to the natural enemy of his nation. From his elevation he had meditated the destruction of the Christian power: now that Africa was pacified, and his son able to send him a supply of Berber troops, he resolved to execute his project, and, as usual, to commence with Leon. His preparations, which he had been long making, were immense; but this circumstance saved Spain. Terrified at the approaching danger, Sancho king of Navarre, and another of the same name, the count of Castile, entered into a confederacy with the regency of Leon (Alonso V., who then reigned, was only in his eighth year), to repel the common foe. This was the first time during the administration of Almansor that the three powers thus united: they were, in fact, generally at war with one another; a circumstance which, coupled with the frequent minority of the kings of Leon, will fully account for the unparalleled triumphs of that hero.

392. In A. H. 392, the Mohammedan army, in two formidable bodies, ascended the Duero, and encountered the Christians in the vicinity of Calat Añosor, a place between Soria and Medina Cœli. When Almansor perceived the widespread tents of the Christians, presenting an appearance truly

formidable compared with some of their former levies, he was struck with surprise. He evidently had not expected to find the allies of Leon so numerous or so faithful to their engagements: perhaps he was unacquainted with the fact of the coalition. Yet, considering his ample preparations, we may readily believe that his own army had still the superiority of numbers. But had there been even a great disproportion, that circumstance would have had little effect on one so familiar with danger and victory as the Mohammedan chief. The battle commenced with break of day, and was maintained with unexampled obstinacy until darkness separated the combatants.

That the loss on both sides was immense, may well be conceived from the desperate valor of the two armies. If Almanzor by his frequent and impetuous assaults broke the adverse line, it was soon reformed, and the next moment saw the Christian knights in the very heart of the infidels. Overcome with fatigue, with anxiety, and still more with the mortification of having been so unexpectedly repelled, he slowly retired to his tent, to await the customary visits of his generals. The extent of his disaster was unknown to him, until he learned, from the few who arrived, the fate of their brother chiefs. To hazard a second field, he well saw, would be destruction; and burning with shame he ordered a retreat. Whether the Mohammedans were disturbed or not in their retreat is uncertain,* but Almanzor himself proceeded no further than the frontiers of Castile, before he sunk under the weight of his despair. Obstinate refusing all consolation—some accounts say all support—he died in the arms of his son Abdelmelic, who had hastened from Africa to see him, the third day of the moon Shaffal, A. H. 392.†

* The Christians say they *were*; the Arabs positively assert that they *were not*.

† A. H. 392 opens (see the Chronological Table) Nov. 19th, A. D. 1001.

Moharram	30	November	12
Safir	29	December	31
Rabia I.	30	January	31
Rabia II.	29	February	28
Jumadi I.	30	March	31
Jumadi II.	29	April	30
Regeb	30	May	31
Saffan	29	June	30
Ramdan	30	July	31
Shaffal	3	August	14

260

260

Hence August 14, A. D. 1002. The battle probably took place three or four weeks before. The Arabic date is so circumstantial, that it may be adopted in preference to that assigned by Mariana, Ferreras, and other modern historians. But in Mohammedan affairs there is nothing but blundering among the Christian writers of Spain: facts and dates are so confounded, as to be

Almansor was formed for a great sovereign. He was not only the most able of generals, and the most valiant of soldiers, but he was an enlightened statesman, an active governor, an encourager of science and the arts, and a magnificent rewarder of merit. His loss was fatal to Cordova. In limited monarchies, where the empire of the laws is supreme, and where the higher dignities may be attained by the meritorious, however humble in their condition of life, the chasm occasioned by the loss of such a man will soon be filled up by a suitable successor; but in a despotic state, where the person is every thing and the laws nothing, and where, as there are no certain rewards for merit, merit will seldom be found, the removal of the guiding hand of an able ruler may precipitate the whole machine into the gulf of ruin. The Cordovans, and, indeed, the whole Mussulman population of Spain, seem to have been seized with just apprehensions for the fate of the monarchy. Their hero and father was no more; and his loss was little likely to be repaired under so imbecile and despicable a ruler as Hixem. The national sorrow, indeed, was mitigated for a moment by the appointment of Abdelmelic to the vacant post of hagib. This minister promised to tread in the steps of his illustrious father: his administration both in Africa and Spain was signalized by great spirit and valor: but, unlike Almansor, he found the Christians too well prepared to be taken by surprise; and though he ravaged the country, he obtained no success over them in battle. It appears, indeed, notwithstanding the assertion of the Arabic writers to the contrary, that he sustained a defeat in Galicia; but he was active, undaunted, persevering; and in time he might have proved a terrible, as he had already proved a harassing, foe to the Christians. On his return from one of his predatory inroads—for such were all his expeditions—into Estremadura, he was suddenly seized with excruciating pains—the effect, probably, of poison; and he died A. H. 397, in the seventh year of his administration. With him ended the prosperity of Mohammedan Spain.

397. Abderahman, the brother of Abdelmelic, was next advanced to the post of hagib. Vain, thoughtless, and dissipated, his kindred qualities made him dear to the worthless Hixem. But the effects of his private vices might have been repaired, had not an immoderate and senseless ambition seized on his heart. Sensible of his empire over the royal mind, he prevailed on the childless monarch to designate him as successor to the throne. This rash act occasioned his ruin,

unintelligible. No history of Spain (from the fall of Roderic to the thirteenth century), composed prior to the publication of Casiri and Conde, has any value. Mariana's is, probably, the worst of all.

and was one of those which accelerated with fearful rapidity the decline of the state. The race of the Omeyas was not extinct; and Mohammed, a prince of that house, resolved to chastise the presumption of the hagib. He hastened to the frontier, collected partisans, and returned to Andalusia, where his army was reinforced by considerable numbers. Abderahman, who was not deficient in courage, and whose pretensions had gained him many adherents, left Cordova, to crush the dangerous rebellion. But Mohammed was too wily for his minister. Hearing that the capital was left undefended, he divided his forces into two bodies; left one to oppose Abderahman, while with the other he rapidly marched on the city, forcibly seized on the palace and king, and proclaimed the deposition of the hagib. The latter furiously hastened to Cordova, and attempted to enter the town in opposition to the entreaties of his officers; but his entry was disputed not only by the troops of Mohammed, but by the fickle mob, who to-day characteristically join in breaking the idol they had worshipped yesterday. He endeavored to retreat, but in vain. He was speedily surrounded; was wounded, taken, and crucified by the barbarous victor on the 18th day of Jumadi I. A. H. 399.*

Mohammed first caused himself to be appointed hagib; but the modest title soon displeased, and he aspired to that of king. He who had successfully rebelled against his sovereign, and who held that sovereign a prisoner in the palace, was not likely to hesitate at greater crimes. By his orders Hixem was secretly conveyed to an obscure fortress, and there confined. At the same time the death of the king was publicly announced; a person resembling him in stature and countenance was, we are told, substituted for him, and laid in the royal sepulchre; and Mohammed, in conformity with the pretended will of his predecessor, was hailed as Prince of the believers.

But the usurper was far from secure in his seat of power. The dangerous example which he himself had set of successful rebellion, was too attractive not to be followed; and his own acts hastened the invitation. Incensed against the Afric-

* The first day of this year corresponds with September 4, 1008. Again we give the calculations in full, that the reader may become familiarized with the subject.

Moharram	30	September	27
Safr	29	October	31
Rabia I.	30	November	30
Rabia II.	29	December	31
Jamadi I.	18	January	17

an guard which had supported the factions of Abderahman, he dissolved that formidable body, and ordered them to be expelled the city. They naturally resisted; but with the aid of the populace he at length forced them beyond the walls, and threw after them the head of their chief. The exasperated Africans swore to be revenged, and proclaimed Suleyman, of the royal blood of the Omeyas, the successor of Hixem.

As the forces of Suleyman were too few to make an open attack on Cordova, he traversed the country in search of partisans, and added greatly to the number of his followers. He even procured many Christian auxiliaries from Sancho count of Castile, and, as is said, from the kings of Navarre and Leon. These princes were fully alive to the advantage of fomenting the internal dissensions of their natural enemies; but the aid of Sancho was purchased by the more alluring consideration of a promise of some fortresses from Suleyman in the event of success. The latter now boldly returned into Andalusia, and in an obstinately contested battle (A. H. 400) he overthrew the usurper: 20,000 troops of the latter being left on the field.* The victor hastened to Cordova, and assumed the reins of sovereignty. There, however, he did not long remain; he felt he was unpopular; and to avoid assassination, he shut himself up in the palace of Azhara. The African domination—for such his was—became odious to the native Mussulmans; nor was the feeling lessened by the presence of the Christian auxiliaries. The latter were honorably dismissed; but still there was no solid security for Suleyman, against whom plots were frequent. To add to his vexations, Mohammed, aided by count Raymond of Barcelona, and several walis, advanced against Cordova. The African party were defeated, their chief forced to flee, and Mohammed again recognized as king. But throughout these contentions, the vicissitudes of success and failure followed each other with amazing celerity. Though pursued by a superior force headed in person by his bitter rival, Suleyman turned round and inflicted a terrible defeat on Mohammed, who precipitately fled, almost alone, to the capital. The victor followed him, seized on the heights in the vicinity of Cordova, and laid siege to the place. Mohammed was weakened by the desertion of his Christian allies, and still more by the disaffection of the mob, which bear about the same feeling to unfortunate princes as the kindred cur towards the meanly clad visitant. The hagib Uhada, a man who had contrived to keep his post in every recent change of government, took advan-

* Evidently a monstrous exaggeration.

tage of this alienation of popular feeling: he did not declare for Suleyman, as little of a favorite as the present ruler; but he suddenly drew Hixem from confinement, and showed him to the astonished populace. Astonishment gave way to transport; and transport, as usual, to excesses. Mohammed was beheaded, his corpse torn in pieces by the new converts to legitimacy (A. H. 401), and the head thrown into the camp of Suleyman.

But Suleyman refused to recognize the grandson of the great Abderahman. Having formed an alliance with Obeidala, the son of Mohammed, and wali of Toledo, he aimed at nothing less than the deposition of the king. At first his efforts were unpromising: his ally was defeated, made prisoner, and beheaded; and the hagib Uhada obtained, through the accession of half-a-dozen strong frontier places, a number of auxiliary troops from the unscrupulous count of Castile. For his success in crushing this branch of the insurrection, Uhada was intrusted by the weak king with the privilege of changing revocable into hereditary fiefs. Some of the most powerful walis and alcalds were by this novelty, indeed, drawn for a time into the royal interests; but from this moment each looked forward to a separate and independent sovereignty. Suleyman turned the same arms against Hixem. By promising the walis of Calatrava, Saragoosa, Medina, Cœli, and Guadalajara, the hereditary and irrevocable possession of their governments, he secured the aid of those powerful officers. Fortune favored him in other respects. The giddy populace of Cordova were dissatisfied with their restored monarch, for no other discoverable reason than that a plague came among them in addition to the ordinary evils of civil war. Suleyman marched on Cordova. In vain did the hagib Hairan, the successor of Uhada, whom Hixem in a fit of suspicion had put to death, attempt to defend the city. The inhabitants opened one of the gates; the Africans entered, fought, and conquered; their chief was a second time saluted as king; and Hixem for ever disappeared from the stage of royalty—probably at the same moment from that of life.*

Suleyman began his reign—for so long as Hixem lived he cannot be properly ranked among the kings of Cordova—by rewarding his adherents in the most lavish manner. He confirmed them, as he had promised, in

* Authorities,—those contained in Casiri, the Arabic history of Ximenes archbishop of Toledo, and Condé, spoiled by Marlés. The Christian writers last quoted also throw incidental light on the internal affairs of the Mohammedans.

the hereditary possession of their fiefs; thus engrafting on strangely foreign stalk, the feudal institution of more northern nations. This was the signal for the creation of numerous independent sovereignties, and consequently for the ruin of Mohammedan Spain. The strength of the misbelievers had consisted in their unity under the religious sway of their caliphs: when this strong bulwark was dissolved, the scattered fragments of their empire might for a moment resist the eager assaults of the Christians; but these must inevitably be swept away in the end by the overwhelming flood. That they should be blind to such an obvious result—nay, that, to crush one another the more speedily, they should so eagerly avail themselves of the aid of their common enemy—would be enough to make us believers in their own creed of resisted destiny, did not all human experience tell us that individual advantage, however temporary, will, in the minds of most men, be preferred to the general good, however durable.

405. The hagib Hairan, who had escaped to his government of Almeria, swore to be revenged on this new usurper. As, however, no forces which he could bring into the field could contend for a moment with those of Suleyman, he passed over to Ceuta, to interest the governor, Ali ben Hamad, in his project. He represented to that wali the odium in which the usurper was held by the Mohammedans, intimated his belief that Hixem yet lived, and urged Ali to arm in favor of suffering royalty. The latter swore to avenge his injured monarch; and, with his brother Alcassim, he commenced hostilities in Andalusia. After some rapid successes, they and Hairan were met by Suleyman in the environs of Almuñecar. Seeing their numbers, and perhaps distrusting the fidelity of his troops, the king endeavored to avoid a general action; but being forced by Ali into an unfavorable position, he was compelled to fight. The contest was inde-

406. cisive; nor in the desultory twelvemonth's warfare which followed could either boast of much advantage. In the end, however, Suleyman was forsaken by most of the walis, his allies—they can no longer be called subjects; his troops deserted to swell the ranks of his enemy; and in a battle near Seville, his Andalusian adherents turned against him, and thereby decided his fate. That city and Cordova immediately submitted; the king, his father, and brother, were brought before Ali; and the parent was interrogated as to the fate of Hixem. "I am ignorant of it," replied the venerable old man—no doubt with truth. "Thou and thy children," rejoined Ali, "have put him to death: thus shall your heads fall to expiate his blood!"—"Strike me only!" exclaimed Suleyman;

"these are innocent!" His declaration was disregarded, and all three perished by the hands of the victor.

By his followers ALI was proclaimed king of Moham-
medan Spain, but not until search had been vainly made
for Hixem. The crown was not destined to sit more lightly
on his head than on that of his immediate predecessor. The
walis of Seville, Merida, Toledo, and Saragossa, did not con-
descend to answer the letters announcing his succession; and
even Hairan, who had zealously labored for his elevation, for-
sook him. This restless man, intent on breaking the work of
his own hands, joined the disaffected walis; all called the
faithful to arms, to restore some one of the immediate descend-
ants of the great Abderahman. The multitude began to feel
some affection for their ancient kings; or rather to contrast the
advantages once possessed under their sceptre, with the anarchy,
the desolation, and the misery of the present condition. The
wali of Jaen, ABDEDAHMANALMORTADI, was proclaimed king in
that city, and measures were taken to depose the reigning
usurper. For some time, indeed, these measures were vain;
Hairan was thrice defeated, and, on the last occasion, beheaded
by Ali. The victor returned triumphant to Cordova; but he
found an enemy where he least expected one; he was stifled
in the bath by his Slavonic attendants, and the report circu-
lated that his death was natural.*

If the murderers of Ali committed the deed at the
instigation of the walis in the interests of Abderah-
man, their object was not gained; for ALCASSEM BEN HAMUD,
brother of the deceased king, seized on the throne. To re-
venge his kinsman's death, he punished with fearful severity,
yet without much distinction, all who had the misfortune to be
suspected. His unsparing vengeance made him odious to the
chief inhabitants, many of whom secretly left the capital to
swell the ranks of Almortadi, who still kept a court at Jaen.
But the most powerful of his enemies was Yahia, the son of
Ali, who, on hearing of his accession, left Ceuta with a con-
siderable force, to contend for the crown. As his nephew im-
mediately reduced Malaga, and as one of his armies was de-
feated under the walls of Jaen, he proposed to Yahia to divide
his dominions with that prince; that both should turn their
arms against their common enemy Almortadi; and that, in the
sequel, both should conquer and govern the rest of Mohamme-

* See Abu Bakir, *Vestis Serica*, p. 50, 51. Abu Abdalla, *Vestis Acu Picta*, p. 105. Ben Alabar, *Chronologia Hispana*, p. 206. Alhomaïd, *Supplementum*, p. 206. (apud Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii.*). Ximenes, *Historia Arabum*, cap. 38—43. Conde, spoiled by Maries, ii. 87—104. On this subject the Christian authorities are worse than useless.

dan Spain. In pursuance of an agreement between them,—an agreement, however, which, as it was dictated by necessity, neither intended to observe,—Yahia took up his abode at Cordova, and Alcassim at Malaga or Sevilla. The former soon threw off the mask. Finding that he was more popular in Cordova than his savage uncle, he published a proclamation, to the effect that Alcassim had no claim to any portion of the kingdom. The indignant uncle hastened to chastise the perfidy of his kinsman; the latter, who had only his guard, fled to Algeziras, where he fortified himself until fresh succors should

arrive from Africa. Alcassim, on his entrance into Cordova, was welcomed by none of the inhabitants, who justly dreaded his vindictive character. While wreaking

his vengeance, as before, on such as he even suspected, a powerful conspiracy was silently formed to dethrone him. During the night, his palace was assailed; and though, by the valour of his guards, it held out fifty days, at the end of that time most of them fell in an attempt to effect their escape. Some of the more humane of the assailants secretly conveyed Alcassim beyond the walls, and provided him with a small escort of

413. cavalry, which conveyed him to Xerea. About the same time his general Gilfeya was defeated by Abderahman Almortadi; but that prince, in the moment of victory, fell by an arrow. When this intelligence was known at Cordova, the Alameris, or party of the family of the great Almanzor, which acted a conspicuous part in all these commotions, and which adhered to the fortunes of the Omeyas, proclaimed as king Abderahman ben Hixem, brother of the usurper Mohammed.

414. ABDEERAHMAN V. (the IVth was the sovereign of Jaen, Abderahman Almortadi, of whom little is known) had virtues worthy of any throne; but, in an age so licentious as his, they could not fail to hasten his ruin. His first object was to reform his guards, whose disorders had long been unrepressed, whose worst atrocities none of his immediate predecessors dared to punish. They became discontented and mutinous. Mohammed ben Abderahman, cousin of the king, a man of boundless wealth, fomented their dissatisfaction: he succeeded, too, in corrupting the chief nobles of the city. In the silence of night he armed a resolute band of his creatures, who hastened to the palace, and massacred the soldiers on duty. The king awoke; but before he had time to escape, his bedchamber was entered, and he was pierced with a thousand wounds, after a reign of only forty-seven days. The conspirators, displaying their bloody poniards, tumultuously

ran along the streets of Cordova, and proclaimed their employer.

While MOHAMMED II. thus reaped the reward of his crime, Yahia, who had received the expected aid from Africa, resumed his activity. He besieged Xeres, and took his uncle, whom he threw into prison. But whether he feared openly to attack Mohammed, or whether he was waiting the inevitable effects of that king's unpopularity, he applied himself diligently to the administration of his states both in Africa and Spain. If this expectation, as is most probable, swayed him, his prudence was approved by the event. Mohammed's resources were exhausted; his weakness encouraged his walis to refuse him the customary tribute; he had no longer the means of satisfying his creatures, who now despised the work of their hands. He imposed contributions on the inhabitants of the capital: in return, the mob demanded a certain number of heads, and concluded by threatening both him and his bagib. In a panic of fear, he bade a final adieu to the delicious abode of Azhara, and with his family reached the province of Toledo. By the alcaid of Ucles he was received with much outward respect; but, in a few days, poison ended his guilty life; after a despicable reign of seventeen months.

No sooner was Yahia acquainted with the flight of Mohammed, than he received a deputation from the inhabitants of Cordova, who offered him the vacant throne. He testified some, probably seeming, reluctance to accept it; but the eagerness with which the people of that capital welcomed his approach, made him anticipate a more peaceful reign than had fallen to the lot of his late predecessors. He was soon undeceived: several walis refused to do homage; the wali of Seville openly insulted his authority. This powerful and ambitious governor, by name Mohammed, heard without apprehension that the king was marching to punish him. He drew Yahia into an ambuscade in the vicinity of Ronda, where the latter, after a desperate struggle, perished, the seventh day of the moon Moharram, A. H. 417.*

The next prince on whom the choice of the Cordovans fell, HIXEM III., brother of Abderahman Al-mortadi, was naturally loth to accept a crown which had destroyed so many of its wearers. Besides, he was unaffectedly attached to private life. In the end, however, being rather forced than persuaded to relinquish his scruples, he left his retirement. But knowing the inconstancy of the populace—

* February 28. A. D. 1026.

the real sovereign of the state—he proceeded, not to Cordova but to the frontiers, to repel an invasion of the Christians. was, indeed, time to oppose an enemy which, during the recent troubles, had reduced a considerable portion of Lusitania and much even of New Castile. The kings of Leon and Navarre, and the count of Barcelona, seemed by tacit compact to have suspended their own animosities, and resolved to share the spoils of their falling rival. Hixem might for a time reduce the Leonese to inaction, but he could scarcely hope to obtain any decided success; and we accordingly hear nothing of his exploits during the three years he remained on the frontiers. At the end of that time, the murmurs of his subjects, who insisted on seeing their king, compelled him to visit Cordova. He was received by the giddy populace with the accustomed shouts of applause. He endeavored to deserve their affection, to redress wrongs, to encourage industry, to administer justice with impartiality, to relieve the poor, to repress the exactions of the local magistrates. But the walis resisted his authority. To reduce them to obedience he took the field; but though he was at first victorious, he soon found they were too powerful for him, and he was compelled to treat with open rebels. His failure, though success was impossible, was imputed to him as a crime: the mob began to murmur, and his friends seriously advised him to retire for a time to his palace of Azhara. Unable to believe that a people for whose happiness he labored so zealously, should have the disposition to revolt against him, he still remained among them. Unhappily, he had too much reason to find that neither private virtues nor public services have much influence over the bulk of mankind; and that the absolute king who has not the power to make himself feared, will not long be suffered to reign. During the night of the twelfth day of Dilcagiad, A. H. 422,* a licentious mob paraded the streets of Cordova,

* A. H. 422 opened December 28. A. D. 1030.

Moharram	30	December	4
Safr	29	January	31
Rabia I.	30	February	28
Rabia II.	29	March	31
Jumadi I.	30	April	30
Jumadi II.	29	May	31
Regeb	30	June	30
Safran	29	July	31
Ramdan	30	August	31
Shaffal	29	September	30
Dilcada	30	October	31
Dilcagiad	12	November	29

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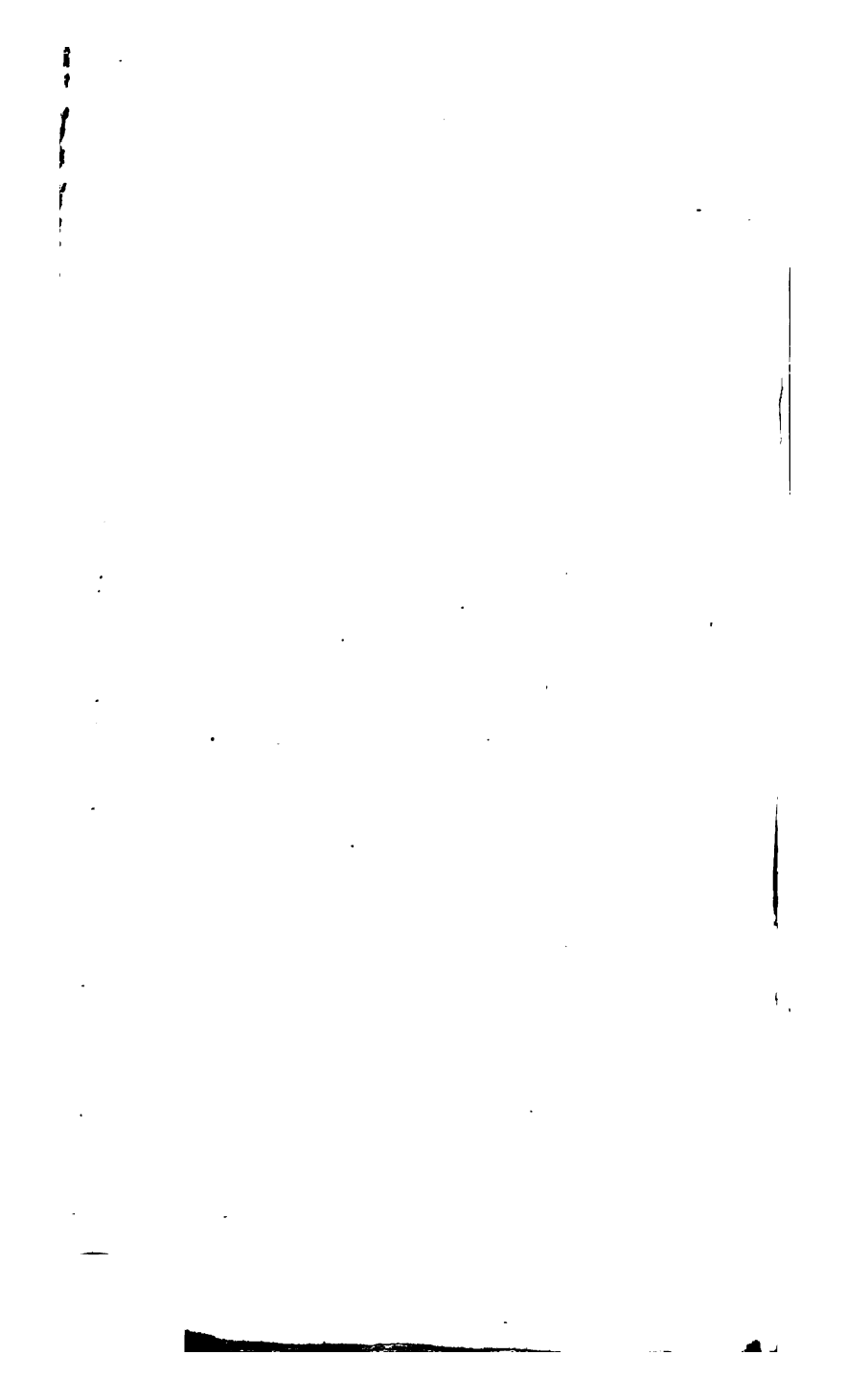
Whence November 29. 1031.

and loudly demanded his deposition. He did not wait the effects of their violence : with unfeigned satisfaction he retired to private life, in which he passed unmolested the remainder of his days. The remembrance of his virtues long survived him ; and by all the Arabic writers of his country he is represented as too good for his age.* A. H. 422.

With Hixem III. ended the caliphate of the west, and the noble race of Omeya. If the succession was interrupted by Ali, and Alcassim, and Yahia, who, though descended from a kindred stock, were not of the same family, that interruption was but momentary ; especially as Abderahman IV. reigned at Jaen, while the two last princes were acknowledged at Cordova. From this period (A. D. 1031,) to the establishment of the kingdom of Grenada in A. D. 1238, there was no supreme chief of Mohammedan Spain, if we except the fleeting conquerors who arrived from Africa, and the fabric of whose dominion was as suddenly destroyed as it was erected. The portion of the country free from the progressive approaches of the Christian sovereignty, is about to be governed by independent petty kings, whose reigns will occupy the first chapter in the ensuing volume.

Vicious as is the constitution of all Mohammedan governments, and destructible as are the bases on which they are founded, the reader cannot fail to have been struck with the fate of this great kingdom. It can scarcely be said to have declined ; it fell at once. Not thirty years have elapsed since the great Almansor wielded the resources of Africa and Spain, and threatened the entire destruction of the Christians, whom he had driven into an obscure corner of this vast peninsula. Now Africa is lost ; the Christians hold two-thirds of the country ; the petty but independent governors, the boldest of whom trembled at the name of Almansor, openly insult the ruler of Cordova, whose authority extends little further than the walls of his capital. Assuredly, so astounding a catastrophe has no parallel in all history. Other kingdoms, indeed, as powerful as Cordova, have been as speedily, perhaps, deprived of their independence ; but if they have been subdued by invading enemies, their resources, their vigor, to a certain extent their greatness, have long survived their loss of that blessing. Cordova, in the very fullness of her strength, was torn to pieces by her turbulent children.

* Authorities the same as those frequently quoted.



APPENDIX A. Page 82.

SANTIAGO (ST. JAMES.)

"AFTER the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, the apostles went forth to preach the holy Gospel throughout the world; and each of them took leave and received the blessings of the glorious Virgin, the mother of God. The honored Santiago, elder brother of St. John the Evangelist, as the one ordained to come to Spain, also waited on the Glorious for her benediction. The Most Blessed said to him, 'Go, my son, fulfil the command of thy master: and remember that in one of the cities of Spain, where thou shalt convert the greatest number of men to the faith, thou erect a church in my name!' The blessed apostle, having left Jerusalem and arrived in Spain, went preaching through many parts of it: and coming to the city of Saragossa, he preached there during many days, and turned eight men to the faith of Jesus Christ. Now these, that they might know more concerning the kingdom of God, left the city each night, and resorted to the banks of the Ebro, to repose themselves in that place; and there, after they had slept a little, they prayed and meditated,—the two chief things for which they had forsaken the tumult of men. And some nights having passed in this manner, the blessed Santiago being with the other Christians, one midnight they all heard the voices of angels singing the Ave Maria, and beginning the matin-office of the Gloriosa. The blessed apostle knelt down on seeing the holy Virgin, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ: upon a pillar she was, which seemed of white marble, surrounded by myriads of angels.* When the matins were ended, the Gloriosa called the holy apostle, and said to him:—'Here, son James, is the very place where a church must be built in my honor. Take this pillar, which my Son thy Master has sent, that it may remain here to the end of the world, and here through my Son's virtue shall wondrous things be done.' The blessed apostle returned many thanks to the Glorious, and immediately that celestial company vanished. All this is to be found written in the same church, and pope St. Calixtus mentions it too in his book of the miracles of Santiago."†—*Libro de Grandezas y Cosas Memorables de España, por el Maestro Pedro de Medina*, fol. clx.

* "Dicta Maria, antequam ad cælos assumeretur cum Jesu Christo, filio suo et Domino nostro, beato Jacobo majori in columna marmorea apparuit, et ab hac ipsa ecclesia nomen Beate Mariæ de Pilari assumpsit."—*Bul. Pap. Calixt. iii.* The existence of the church and pillar is one of the arguments brought forward by Florez (iii. 112.) for the actual presence of St. James the elder in Spain! A less catholic logician might deduce the pillar from the tradition, instead of *vice versâ*.

† See the bull of pope Calixtus III., in Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii. p. 435.

"All this is of great authority," says the father of Spanish history, Morales. Who but a heretic could doubt that a tradition so uniform and so ancient must of necessity be true? The relation of the saint's martyrdom at Jerusalem is no less edifying.

"The glorious apostle being taken to the place where he received martyrdom, he knelt down, raised his hands towards heaven, and having made his prayer, he stretched out his neck, and said thus;—'Let the earth receive this my body, which is made of earth, in the hope of resurrection; and may heaven receive my immortal soul!' Which being said, the executioner drew his sword, raised it, struck him in the neck, and cut off his head. The blood flowed, but the head did not fall; for, through the virtue of the God within him, the glorious apostle, with the hands which he had raised towards heaven, seized his own head, and held it. And there he remained on his knees, with his head in his hand, until night fell, and the disciples came for his body. And of so many men whom Herod had sent, none could force the holy head from the arms."—*Ibid.* fol. cxxii.

Still more wonderful is the translation of the corpse from Syria to Spain.

"The holy apostle being thus beheaded, his disciples took his body by night, for fear the Jews should dishonor it, and went with it to the port of Joppa: there they laid it in a ship, which, as some say, was miraculously provided for them,* and they besought our Lord that he would direct their voyage to the place where he most wished the body should be buried. Others say that the saint had begged of his disciples to take his body to Spain."—"Whether it was by the will of God, or of the apostle (though the whole appears more a divine mystery than of human council,) the disciples arrived here with the corpse. And though in coming from Syria they first touched the eastern coast of Spain where France joins with Catalonia, yet they did not stop there, nor on the whole coast which stretches from thence to the Straits of Gibraltar, bounding Spain on the east and south; yet there were many and great cities and provinces on these shores, and on the Mediterranean. Whence it is easy to be seen these holy navigators followed the divine permission and guidance."—*Morales, Cronica General España*, tom. ii. fol. 232.†

* "Navim sibi divinitus apparatus in litore maris invenerunt."—*Historia Compostellana*, lib. i. cap. i. (apud Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. xx.). Ecce natu Dei parata affuit navis.—*Carta Leonis III.* (apud eundem, tom. iii. p. 407.)

† The disciples of Santiago, we are told, were seven in number. Their names, their veneration as bishops by St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, about A. D. 63, their return to Spain with the office of the mass, the sees they occupied, their success in preaching, &c. are most minutely given by Florez (*España Sagrada*, tom. iii. Appendix 6, &c.), and with as much confidence by Masdeu (*España Romana*, viii. 208, &c.), to say nothing of preceding authors, such as Morales, Mariana, and Ferreras. It is astonishing that in these times (Masdeu is a contemporary) any writer should be found simple enough to give credence to what has no other support than tradition, or the obscure hints of ecclesiastical writers many centuries posterior to the

An angel of the Lord, says Medina, went before the vessel until it reached Iria, now El Padron, in Galicia.

"The reason why our Lord vouchsafed the gift of this richest of relics to this last corner of Spain more than to any other part of it, appears to have been because the saint had preached there the most, and remained there the longest. Even at this day they show in El Padron the places where he most resided, all adorned with oratories, or crosses, or steps worn by pilgrims' knees, and with other devout signs; for the pilgrims visit them with much devotion, the remembrance of them being preserved by most ancient tradition. The church where he preached and said mass, has a fountain of cool and healing water, which runs beneath the altar with much noise."—*Ibid.*

The corpse, we are told, did not long remain at El Padron; it was removed to the place now called Santiago, or Compostella, together with the marble ark or chest in which it lay. This ark, too, was supernaturally formed: the body had been no sooner accidentally laid on it, as a resting-place, than it opened of its own accord, and was found perfectly hollowed out, so as to be deemed the most convenient tomb imaginable. But, alas! the times of Roman persecution came, and some Christians hid the body, no man afterwards could tell where. And hid it remained for some centuries, notwithstanding the most diligent researches of the faithful to discover the place; hid, too, it might have remained until doomsday, had not another miracle been wrought.

"The holy body being forgotten, and the memory and reverence of the saint, as if lost in Galicia during more than 500 years, until about 100 after the destruction of Spain, our Lord was pleased, in the time of Alonso the Chaste, to discover the sacred treasure, and restore it to Spain, both for the country's benefit and the glory of his most holy name. What is related of this discovery in the history of Compostella, is here given. During so many ages a thick wood had grown over the place where the glorious martyr lay hid, which place is the same as that in which he is now buried, under the high altar of his holy church. So our Lord, wishing to show favor to his people, was pleased to let some persons of note see by night a shining light on that mountain. Desiring to know more of it, not only did it appear to them a thing more than human, but they also perceived visions from heaven, which perplexed them much. Wherefore they went to the bishop of Iria, Theodomir by name, (a holy man, who merited from our Lord that his should be the hand to bestow so great a blessing on Spain,) and told him what they had seen and noticed at different times on that mountain. When night fell, the holy bishop went to see what it could be; and seeing with his own eyes the celestial light, and observing the place well whence it appeared, being inspired by heaven, and filled with the sovereign hope which God gave him, and

time; or, finally—and this is the weightiest consideration with a Spaniard—a breviary filled with the most monstrous fables and superstitions.

which he received with much faith and charity, he commanded that part of the mountain to be dug up in his presence. No sooner did the work begin, than they discovered a little hollow place, wrought by the hand of man in form of a cave, and within was the famous ark or tomb of marble, containing the corpse of the holy apostle. Giving many thanks to God for so great a mercy, Theodomir himself hastened to the king, don Alonso the Chaste, in whose time this happened, to tell him the joyful news; which being celestial too, required no less dignified a messenger."—*Ibid.* fol. 235.

The result was, as the veracious history of Compostella assures us, that the king, transported with joy at such a heavenly work of favor to him and his realm, caused a church to be built, to be called the church of the Sepulchre of Santiago, at Compostella, to which he granted a circular territory of three miles in diameter, and to which he transferred the bishop's throne from Iria. In the Appendix of Volume Second we shall have occasion to speak again of this saint, especially of the interest he testified and the valor he exhibited in behalf of the country which has ever boasted of his peculiar protection.

In the preceding extracts, the words of Medina and Morales, whose *naïveté* cannot fail to amuse, have been preferred to either pope Leo III. or the historians of Compostella: the former cannot be accused of living in a credulous age. The relations of the two latter may be found in Florez, tom. iii. and xx. as before quoted.

APPENDIX B. Page 83.

St. EUGENIUS.

THERE are some circumstances attending the relics of this saint, which may gratify the curious, or divert the idle reader.

Having labored with extraordinary success for some years in his see of Toledo (the Catholic writers make him an archbishop, though the dignity was unknown in Spain during the seven first centuries), this prelate went to France, to visit his master, Dionysius the Areopagite. As he drew near Paris, he was asked by some Roman soldiers what God he worshipped? "I am a Christian!" was the reply. He was immediately beheaded, and buried no one knew where.

But Eugenius was too great a favorite with Heaven for his corpse to lie for ever in obscurity. One Hercoldus, a man of distinction, being sick, a venerable-looking person appeared to him in a dream; commanded him to arise, to go to a neighboring lake, to draw thence the body of Eugenius, and cause it to be interred with all due honor. Hercoldus accordingly arose, as well as ever he had been in his life; and, attended by a great multitude of people, he went to the lake, and drew out the corpse in as fine a state

of preservation as if the head had but just been lopped off. He thought no place could be more suitable for such a relic than the abbey of St. Denis; but the oxen which he had yoked to the team would not stir a foot in that direction: when left to themselves, they turned off to a little field, where a church was erected to receive the holy prize. But this corpse seems to have been somewhat whimsical: being carried in procession some ages afterwards to the church of St. Denis, and laid on the high altar, it refused to return to its former resting place: no force could move it an inch. What could be more clear than that the disciple wished to remain with the master? The monks this time removed it from the altar with ease, and laid it in a chapel within the monastery.

The mortification of the good people of Toledo was extreme on hearing of these wondrous things: the question now was how to obtain a portion of so valuable a relic. With some difficulty the king of France was induced to spare an arm, and a solemn annual feast commemorated its arrival. Finally, in the time of Henry de Valois (1565), Philip II. was fortunate enough to beg the remainder of the body; which has ever since enriched the bony treasury of that ancient cathedral.*

"Ab uno disce omnes:" the discovery and translation of the relics of the saints is pretty much the same in all cases, and peculiarly so as regards the martyrs of Spain. We have neither space nor inclination for more examples in this place.

APPENDIX C. Page 114.

"Tween the cup and the lip
There's many a slip."—*Old Proverb.*

CHILPERIC, king of the Franks, had agreed to bestow his daughter Richunda on prince Recared: ambassadors had been dispatched on both sides to regulate the dowry, which, according to the custom of the Goths, the prince was to allow his future bride. At this moment Leovigild was summoned to the field, to crush the rebellion of his eldest son, and the negotiation was suspended.

On the termination of the war a new embassy was dispatched from Toledo to the court of Chilperic, to hasten the marriage. All obstacles were now removed, and the Gothic nobles were on their return, with the full consent of Chilperic that the ceremony should be solemnized without delay, when the unexpected death of a Frank prince, a brother of the intended bride, caused the afflicted father to request that the ceremony should again be deferred.

When sufficient time had elapsed for the indulgence of natural grief, Leovigild sent another deputation to bring the princess to his court. Chilperic, resolved that she should appear with becoming splendor before her future subjects, conferred on her the most cost-

* The preceding account is extracted from *Morales*.

ly gifts, and fixed the day of her departure, which was September 1, 584: fifty chariots were prepared to convey her new riches, and a retinue of 4000 persons appointed to attend her. It appears, however, that none of these attendants had much relish for the journey. They had been led to entertain such notions of Gothic ferocity, that many of them sought to escape so unwelcome a duty: some made their wills, as if proceeding to certain death; a few hung themselves in despair. All Paris was in consternation and mourning.*

The cavalcade at length left the gates of the capital; but had not proceeded many furlongs, before the chariot which carried the princess sustained some accident, and was obliged to be stopped until the mischief was repaired. Next came a deputation from Chilbert, uncle of the princess, which, in the name of the king, protested against the marriage, and requested, or rather insisted, that she should return. The party, however, after some delay, proceeded; but they had scarcely reached a post four leagues from Paris, where it had been arranged they should pass the night, before fifty of Richunda's attendants—all, doubtless, in the interests of Chilbert—decamped with one hundred horses, richly laden and caparisoned. Still the princess continued her way; but the desertions among her attendants were so frequent, that, as she approached the south of France, she had few left, and she was compelled to dispatch couriers to her father for troops to protect her from the insults of the people, who liked neither the marriage nor the enormous expenses it entailed. As the peasants were bound to furnish the whole party with beasts of burden, provisions, lodging, and guides entirely free of expense, their ill-will on the present occasion may readily be conceived.

With the troops thus seasonably acquired, the princess at length reached Thoulouse. Here it was thought expedient for her to remain some time, until preparations were made for passing the Pyrenees with suitable magnificence. Just, however, as these were concluded, she received intelligence of the deposition and death of her father. At the same time arrived a powerful noble with a strong body of horse, who unceremoniously deprived her of all her remaining treasures. Of course she was speedily abandoned by her attendants; and was left in a strange city, destitute alike of money, friends, and habitation. She was compelled to seek refuge and subsistence in a church, where she remained some months before her mother Fredegunda could send for her. It is no way creditable to her intended husband, who must have known her situation and place of refuge, that he did not hasten to fulfil

* "Tantusque planctus in Urbe Parisiâ erat, at planctui compararetur Ægyptio."—*Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc.* vi. 45: Masdeu carefully refrains from alluding to this ill reputation of the Goths; he represents the sorrow and mourning as occasioned merely by the prospect of so long a journey. This is very uncandid.

his engagement. We do not hear that, after the catastrophe of her father, he ever wasted a thought on this unfortunate lady.

The preceding relation is extracted from the archbishop Gregory.

APPENDIX D. Page 129.

WONDERFUL DISCOVERY OF ST. GREGORY'S MORALS.

In the reign of Recared, pope St. Gregory had sent his friend St. Leander, uncle of that prince, half his books of Morals, which were preserved with great veneration in the archiepiscopal library of Toledo. Chindaswind and the clergy being anxious for a complete copy of the work, sent Tayo, bishop of Saragossa, to Rome, to request one from pope St. Martin. Owing, however, to the multitude of MSS. in the Vatican library, and still more to the indifference of the men who were ordered to look for the treasure, many days elapsed without effect. The bishop seeing that there was little hope of obtaining it through the aid of man, made it the subject of his prayers to Heaven. An angel soon appeared to him, and pointed out the exact place where the book lay. The wondering pope at length prevailed on the modest prelate to relate in what way the discovery had been made.

He (Tayo) confessed that on a certain night he had requested from the ostiarius permission to watch in the church of St. Peter, and it was granted. About the middle of the night, as he was praying with great contrition before the altar of St. Peter, the church was suddenly filled with celestial light, too glorious to be described; so that by it the lamps of the edifice were wonderfully reflected. At the same time there was heard the music of many voices singing, and there was seen to enter a glorious company of saints. While he stood terrified with this great honor thus done him, prayer having been made, two of the shining ones gradually approached the spot where the bishop had been praying. Finding him nearly dead, they sweetly saluted him, and restored him to his senses. They then asked him why he undertook so rigorous a labor, why he had come so far from the west, and embarked on so long a voyage? When he had answered them, (as if they did not know already!) they comforted him with many words, and showed him the very place where the little book was. In return, he asked these holy men what company of saints that might be which was with them two in the glorious light, and they replied, "Peter, the apostle of Christ, and also Paul, holding each other by the hand, together with all the successors of this see, who are here buried." He then asked who they themselves were, with whom he held this wonderful discourse, and one of the two replied, that he was *Gregory*, whose book he was so eager to obtain. The bishop again inquired whether St. Augustine was not amongst that holy company, for he loved that saint's writings as much as those of St.

Gregory. The latter is said to have replied in these words only: "That celebrated man, Augustine, so highly esteemed by all, for whom thou inquierest, is in a higher place than we are." Now when the bishop began to fall down at their feet, that most holy man, with the light and the other saints, suddenly vanished from his eyes and those of an ostiary. When from that day forward the venerable Tayo, who had been before despised as one unknown, was held in much reverence in that seat of the apostle.—*Isidori Pacensis Episcopi Epitome*, p. 6. (in the collection of Sandoval, or much more accurately in Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. viii.)

Such in substance is the relation of the good bishop of Beja. It is gratifying to learn that at so early a period (Isidore wrote about the middle of the eighth century) the library of St. Peter contained so many books.

APPENDIX E. Page 131.

WHIMSICAL LETTER OF DUKE PAUL.

IN nomine Domini. Fl. Paulus Rex Orientis, Wambœ Regi Austri.

Si jam asperas et inhabitabiles montium rûpes percurristi; si jam fertosa et silvarum nemora, ut leo fortissimus, pectore confragisti; si jam caprearum cursum cervorumque saltum aprorum ursorumque edacitates, radicitus edomuiisti; si jam serpentum vel viperarum venenum evomuiisti, indica nobis, armiger, indica nobis, domine silvarum et petrarum amice! Nam si hæc omnia occubuerunt, tu festina ad nos venire, ut nobis abundanter Philomelæ vocem reteras. Et ideo magnifice vir, ascendit cor tuum ad conformationem; descende usque ad Clausuras, nam ibi invenies Oppopambeum grandem,* cum quo legitime possis concertare!

This letter, which is to be found in the collection of Florez and Bonquet, is, as to style and manner, about the same,—bombastic and unintelligible. It is thus translated by Depping:—

"Dis-moi, ô guerrier! dis-moi, seigneur des bois et ami des rochers, si tu as déjà parcouru les rudes passages des monts inhabitables; si comme un lion fort tu as fait retentir de ta voix les immenses forêts; si tu as égalé la vélocité des chèvres et des cerfs: dompté la férocité des sangliers et des ours; et si tu as arraché le venin aux serpens et aux vipères? Si tu as fait tout cela, hâte-toi de venir vers nous, pour que tu nous fasses entendre la voix du rossignol. Ainsi, homme magnifique, soulage ton cœur, et avance jusqu' aux Clausures; tu y trouveras un être puissant, digne de se mesurer avec toi!"—*Hist. Gén.* ii. 280.

It is surprising that one who bears the reputation of being so good a linguist as M. Depping should have thus carelessly translated so whimsical a letter.

* *Oppopambeum*, redresser of all wrongs.

It is not unlikely that this letter was never written by duke Paul, but composed by St. Julian, whose hatred to that general and the whole people of France should induce us to receive his violent tirades with caution.—See note, p. 133.

APPENDIX F. Page 138.

THE PENITENTIAL HABIT.

"From the fifth century," says Masdeu (xi. 272.), "or from the beginning of the sixth, the custom prevailed in Spain of the infirm, when so heavily afflicted as to be in danger of death, piously assuming the tonsure and the penitential habit, and engaging to continue both through life, if God raised them up. As the use of this penance became common enough to throw discredit on the piety of all who did not thus undertake it, if the sick or dying man was unable to demand the habit, his relations or friends could invest him with it, and his obligation to a penitential life thenceforward was as great as if that obligation had been imposed, not by others, but at his own request, since, as he was charitably supposed to be thus piously inclined, he must of necessity wish to become a penitent. This continued in force until king Chindaswind, impressed with the abuses to which it had given rise, decreed that in such cases the obligation imposed by others should be void unless the patient should afterwards ratify it when in a sound state of mind. Penitents of this class might remain in their own houses, without seclusion within the walls of a monastery; but they were for ever compelled to wear the habit and shaven crown, to shun business and diversions, to lead exemplary and chaste lives; if single, they could not marry; if married, they could not enjoy the privileges of the state: hence, though they inhabited not the cloister, they were of the religious order, and consecrated to God."

This penance was not merely assumed by such as were anxious to make atonement for some heavy sin; it was often voluntarily undertaken by individuals whose lives had been blameless, and who were anxious by this work of supererogation to increase their stock of merits. If the penitent died of his disease, the intention of his sacrifice was believed to be availing in the sight of Heaven; if he recovered, he became a monk. No less a doom than excommunication, and a rigorous penitential seclusion during life within the walls of a monastery, were hurled against such as married, or used their conjugal privilege, or laid down the habit. If, however, the married penitent were *very young* at the time he or she entered on the monastic obligation, in case of recovery the bishop had power to permit the use of matrimony a certain number of years, that is, until the party was believed firm enough to control the sexual propensity. This was called an *indulgence* or *dispensation*,

the *debitum conjugale* being totally annihilated by the obligations of the new state.

This custom is not yet extinct in Spain, though, like many others of a similar kind, its observance is daily weakening since the period of the French revolution, and of the increased intercourse between the two nations. Many of the greatest names in the Spanish annals voluntarily assumed the profession, and thereby ceased to be laymen. Among these was the author of *Don Quixote*.

Every reader of ecclesiastical history knows that this custom was not confined to Spain, but was spread over the most of Europe. The old Polish historian, bishop Kadlubeck,* has an anecdote on this subject well worth translating, both for its amusing quaintness, and for its relation to the case of Wamba.

"A certain woman being in great tribulation and anger with her husband, whom she mortally hated, planned a notable scheme of getting rid of him. Once upon a time she gave him a drink made from poisonous herbs; after taking which he appeared, not as drunk, but as raving as he lay in bed, rolling from side to side, and spewing; he had lost not only his senses but his speech. Forthwith his wife ran off to the monks, crying and bellowing, 'Good masters, my husband is dying, he has lost the use of his speech; but so long as he had it, he prayed for nothing but that he might be made a monk. God forbid that his soul should suffer through me! I am willing to be chaste as long as he lives, even should Heaven restore him. But for God's sake do come away, and put on the habit, for he is near unto death.' Such was her earnestness that the said monks went with her; the man was shaved, and a famous crown they made him. Next morning, when the stupor had passed away, and he awoke, he touched his head, and on finding it bald, and that he was wrapt in a monkish garb, he marvelled not a little. And when he asked his wife the meaning of all this, and who had thus transformed him, she thus replied, all in tears, 'Dearest husband, dost not thou remember how in thy illness thou hast become a monk? Nothing else would satisfy thee when thy pains raged so violently. So, dearest! for thy sake I have vowed chastity,† though I must live alone like a desolate widow as I am!' And when he swore that he would be no monk at all, but would remain with her as he had hitherto done, she replied, 'No, no! I again remind thee of my promise of chastity and of thy religious profession. God forbid that a monk should ever lie by my side! Wouldst thou not blush, wretch, to break thy vow? If thou

* The prelate, however, is not the author of the anecdote. It is taken from Philip of Pergamo, an author as little known in this country as himself.

† When a married man entered a monastery, he could not make his profession until his wife had solemnly engaged to remain chaste so long as he should live. If she married before his death, she was guilty of bigamy. See the *Fuero Juzgo* and the law of the *Partidas* on this subject.

shouldst return to the world, every body would call thee an apostate !' So for very shame's sake, as well as for his wife's wicked wit, the poor fellow entered the cloister, leaving her his house and goods."—*Vincentii Kadlubkonis Historia Polonica*, lib. iii. cap. 28.

The academician of Seville, Don Miguel Sanchez y Lopez, in his elaborate "Dissertacion sobre el Monacato del Rey Wamba,"* contends that the monarch was not bound to fulfil a monastic engagement thus contracted. Deeply concerned, he says, for the honor of the nation, he will not allow that the Spanish church be reproached with so tyrannical a discipline, as forcing an *innocent* man (criminals of state, &c. were, he admits, thus forced) to make so solemn a profession. Masdeu convincingly disproves his arguments, and shows that the nation is not justly entitled to the honor for which the learned academician contends.

APPENDIX G. Page 144.

THE FABLE OF FLORINDA OR LA CABA.

AMONG the ladies of king Roderic's court, say the *modern* historians of Spain, there was one of uncommon beauty, named Florinda or La Caba, the daughter or wife of one Doyllar or don Illan, or don Julian. She had the misfortune to please the king : but as her virtue was equal to her loveliness, she indignantly rejected his overtures. But kings, and least of all Gothic kings, were not to be repulsed with impunity ; and Roderic accomplished by force what he could not do by persuasion. The lady dissimulated her deadly hatred until she had an opportunity of communicating her dishonor to her father, then absent against the Moors. All on fire at the indignity done his child and house, the count resolved on a revenge with which the whole earth should ring. He entered into a compact with the misbelievers, engaging to put them in possession of the whole country, if they would wash away his dishonor in the blood of the foul ravisher. He wrapt his purpose in great secrecy until he had rescued his daughter from the clutches of the king : he himself fetched her from the court of Toledo, and behaved to Roderic with so much courtesy that no one could suspect he knew of his wrong, much less that he was about so fatally to avenge it. On his return to Ceuta, the seat of his government, he found the Moors prepared for the expedition : he openly joined them, accompanied the infidel general to Gibraltar, and thus commenced the famous struggle which was to end in the subjugation of a great nation.

The whole story of Florinda is evidently a romance ;—probably of Arabic invention,—similar to the many thousand others which

* In the Literary Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Seville, vol. i. p. 103.

formed the amusement of the people in the middle ages. It is first mentioned by the monk of Silos, who wrote about 400 years after the Mohammedan invasion. No doubt, however, can be entertained that Count Julian was among the most influential and active of the conspirators who called the Arabs into Spain.

The chivalric romance of don Rodrigo—about as good an authority as the monk of Silos on such a subject—gives us a minute account of the amour, its progress, and termination. Chapter 165 tells us how the king discovered to La Caba the love he bore her; 167. how he asked her to let him have his pleasure with her; 168. how La Caba excused herself, saying that the king was only trying her; 169. how the king swore that he was in downright earnest in all that he had said; 170. how La Caba told the king that, by yielding to his wishes, she should be traitorous to the queen her mistress; 171. how the king told La Caba that, as she was the queen's companion, her reputation would be safe, &c. The lady, however, still stood out so long as persuasion only was used :—

Despues que el rey ovo descubierto su carazon à La Caba, no era dia que la no requiriese una vez o dos, y ella se defendia con buena razon. Empeo à la cima, como el rey no pensava tanto como en esto; un dia en la fiesta embio con un donzel por La Caba, y ella vino: y como en esta hora no avia en todo su camara otro ninguno sino ellos todos tres, el campio con ella todo loque quiso.—*Chronica del Rey D. Rodrigo*, part i. cap. 165—172. fol. 83, 84.

From the whole conversation, as given by this anonymous novelist, Roderic might be justified in believing that the scruples of La Caba were not insuperable,—that, in fact, she was willing in heart but coy through maiden bashfulness. Even at last, when she might have so easily alarmed the palace, she was silent through fear of her cries reaching the queen: she knew “que si ella quisiera dar bozes, que bien fuera oyda de la reyna;” therefore “callo con loque el rey quiso fazer; y como el rey fizo loque tanto codiciava,” &c.

Count Julian's daughter is made a model of virtue by Southey, and Roderic himself is represented as scarcely inferior. The poem of “Roderic, the Last of the Goths,” is one of the finest in our modern literature. With poetical merit of the very highest order, it combines a deep, we had almost said, unrivalled acquaintance with the antiquities, history, literature, and manners of the Spaniards. We do not find in it an *archbishop* of Toledo hearing confession! at *midnight* too! and from a *king* in the depths of a cathedral!!! nor that such confession was made by

“Proud Alaric's DESCENDANT.”*

* Scott's *Vision of Don Roderic*, stanzas 5. and 6. Here are four strange blunders in two consecutive stanzas. The very title is a blunder: the *don* was not used prior to the close of the ninth century.

APPENDIX H. Page 144.

THE ENCHANTED TOWER.

RODERIC, say the archbishop of Toledo, Abul Cassim, and the fabulous chronicle, descended into a cave, or opened a tower which had been constructed by Hercules, and on the opening of which the destinies of Spain were believed to depend. He found nothing in it but strange representations of Moors and Saracens, who, as an inscription bore, would soon subjugate Spain.

As we are writing history, not poetry or romance, we refer the reader for an account of this enchanted structure to the notes at the end of Scott's "Vision of Don Roderic," and of Southey's "Roderic, the Last of the Goths." He will there find copious extracts from the three authorities above mentioned.

The copy of the "*Cronica del Rey Don Rodrigo*" (fol. Valladolid, 1527,) now before us, has a rude representation on wood of the opening of the enchanted tower. A man with a huge pair of pincers is breaking the locks on the door. Near him stands Roderic in his regal garb, at whose feet a prelate is kneeling, endeavoring in vain to dissuade the king from his purpose. A Gothic noble is also holding up his hand, both in astonishment at the king's temerity, and as a warning of the consequences to follow. The expression on the countenance of Roderic is haughty and determined.

APPENDIX I. Page 148.

PRECISE PERIOD OF THE INVASION BY THE ARABS.

THE period of the destruction of Spain has been matter of much controversy among historians. Mariana and Moret, who follow the archbishop, don Rodrigo, the General Chronicle, &c. place it in 714; the chronologers Musancius and La Laure, in 713; Ferreras and his critical translator, Hermilly, in 712; the marquis of Mondejar, Pagi, Gibbon, and Masdeu, in 711.

The advocates for the first of these dates evidently adopted it from their ignorance of the *lunar* year of the Arabs,—from their confounding that year with the *solar* one of the *Christians*. Now, the Arabian year has never more than 356 days, generally only 354, sometimes only 353; while the Christian has 365, and in leap year 366. A difference of ten or eleven days in a single year amounts to something considerable in the revolutions of a century, since, in round numbers, ninety-seven solar years are equivalent in duration to 100 lunar. Hence, admitting the battle of Xeres to have been fought in A. H. 92, the year assigned by the best Arabic

authorities, all that the old chroniclers did was to add these ninety-two years to A. D. 622, the period of Mahomet's memorable flight from Mecca to Medina, and the sum 714 was comfortably obtained. They had no notion of the fact, that these ninety-two Arabian years were equivalent to little more than eighty-nine of the Christian; and that, consequently, $622 + 89 = 711$, the precise year of the memorable event recorded in the text. This, too, corresponds with the date given by the continuator of the chronicle of Valclara, by Isidore of Beja, and by Sebastian of Salamanca, who give us the era 749, which is the same as A. D. 711.

But if a very small degree of knowledge be thus adequate to correct this gross blunder of the year, the case is widely different with respect to the *month* and *day* of the year (711), when the destiny of Spain was decided. On this subject all general rules have failed, owing to the variation in the appearance of the new moon, to the difference between the astronomical and civil year among the Arabs (forty-four minutes), and among the Christians (forty-eight minutes fifty-eight seconds), and above all to the difficulty in harmonizing the Nicene calendar with the lunar one of the Arabians. The only way to determine the relation which the Arabic months bear to the Christian at the period under consideration, is to begin with the 15th day of July, 622,—the true period of the hegira,—comparing year by year, month by month, and day by day, according to the two calendars, down to the 11th day of the month Xawal, A. H. 92. But who would undertake so elaborate a task? The precise period would probably have remained for ever undetermined, had not the indefatigable Masdeu fixed it. In a series of tables, occupying above 400 closely printed quarto pages, and comprising the periods of the new moons, with their relation to the Nicene calendar, not only during the first ninety-two years of the hegira, but from the first adoption of that calendar in A. D. 325, to its correction by pope Gregory in 1582, he has satisfactorily proved that the 11th day of the month Xawal, A. H. 92, corresponds to July 31. 711. To him, and to his guide Pagi, chronology is more deeply indebted than to any other writer since the days of Usher.*

It is almost needless to say how much we are indebted to that indefatigable author in the construction of the table placed at the beginning of the second volume. It will be found to differ greatly from that given by Florez (*España Sagrada*, tom. ii. p. 247, &c.). The latter is very defective: its construction is vicious.

* Masdeu, *Historia Critica de España*, tom. xiv. *España Árabe*, Ilustracion i., pp. 5—495.

APPENDIX K. Page 150.

FATE OF RODERIC.

Most modern Spanish historians—and by modern we mean those from Rodrigo of Toledo to Masdeu—will not allow that Roderic was slain by the Mohammedans. One portion of them are of opinion that he perished in the waters of the Guadalete, while flying from his pursuing enemies; another, that he safely passed that river, and fled into Portugal, where he passed the remainder of his days in penitence and prayer. His robe, his armor, and his noble steed Orelia, are said to have been found on the banks of that river soon after the battle of Xeres. What also confirmed the popular story, is the fact, that near 200 years after this fatal event, a sepulchre was discovered, near Viseo, in Portugal, bearing this inscription :—

Hic requiescit Rodericus Ultimus Rex Gothorum.

Scott's "Vision of Don Roderic" has some animated verses on this subject :—

"They come! they come! I see the groaning land
White with the turbans of each Arab horde:
Swart Zarah* joins her misbelieving bands,
Alla and Mahomet their battle word,
The choice they yield, the Koran or the sword.†
See how the Christians rush to arms amain!
In yonder shout the voice of conflict roar'd;
The shadowy hosts are closing on the plain.
Now God and saint Jago strike for the good cause of Spain!

"By heaven the Moors prevail! the Christians yield!
Their coward leader gives for flight the sign!
Their sceptred craven‡ mounts to quit the field—
'Is not yon steed Orelia?'—'Yes, 'tis mine!
But never was she turn'd from battle line.'
Lo! where the recreant spurs o'er stock and stone!—
'Curses pursue the slave, and wrath divine!
Rivers engulf him!'—'Hush!' in shuddering tone
The prelate said; 'Rash prince, yon vision'd form 's thine own.'

"Just then a torrent cross'd the flier's course;
The dangerous ford the kingly likeness tried,
But the deep eddies whelm'd both man and horse,§
Swept like benighted peasant down the tide."

Stanzas xx. and xxi.

* Zarah (or Sahara) sent none of her sons to the war. The country was unknown to Muza.

† An error: it should be, "The Koran, the tributs, or the sword."

‡ Both Arabic and Spanish authorities agree that the king exhibited astonishing valor in this battle.

§ This is wholly at variance with tradition or chronicle. Orelia, as before observed, according to both, was found on the bank.

Another modern writer, much better versed in the history and traditions of the country, and not inferior as a poet, says,—

———“On the banks
Of Chryseus, Roderic's royal car was found,
His battle-horse Orelia, and that helm
Whose horns, amid the thickest of the fray,
Eminent had mark'd his presence. Did the stream
Receive him with the undistinguish'd dead,
Christian and Moor, who clogg'd its course that day?”
Southey's Roderic, i. 4.

But poetry, however splendid, must give way to reason and truth. The finding of the royal steed, &c. rests on authority too questionable to be received, especially when directly opposed to the testimony of two contemporaries,—of him who continued the Chronicle of Valclara, and of Isidorus Pacensis,—who positively assert, with the Arabic writers, that the king was killed on the field of battle.* It seems, indeed, undoubted, that in the time of the bishop Sebastian, who himself acquaints us with the circumstance, a tomb bearing the inscription before given was discovered; but is it not possible to reconcile both accounts? Might not some faithful follower of Roderic have conveyed the corpse from the field, to give it sepulture in some distant corner of the country, least likely to be infested by the conquerors?

But what most disproves the idle tale either of the king's perishing in the Guadalete, or of his successfully passing it, is the impossibility of his reaching that river. The battle must necessarily have taken place on its western bank,—viz. in the fertile plain of Xeres;—for whoever knows any thing of the localities, also knows that, owing to the rugged mountainous country on the eastern side, no two armies could be drawn out there. Now, as the Moors advanced from the south, and the Goths from their capital in the north, the former would of necessity occupy the ground nearest the river, and be ready to receive the latter on their reaching the plain. Indeed, from several passages in the collection of Casiri, as well as in Condé's more accurate work, it is undoubted that, after the victory obtained over Theodomir, the Mohammedan cavalry occupied the country as far as the Guadalquivir, if not Seville itself, and fell back again on the approach of Roderic's numerous army, beyond question to receive fresh succors, and to effect a junction with the infantry. Now, after his defeat, how

* Isidorus Pacensis has been already quoted: hear the words of Abu Abdalla:—“Hinc Mahometanorum copiis occurrit Rodericus Romanorum rex, qui, prælio commisso ad amnem Lethen, vulgò Guadalete, haud procul ab urbe Xeres, victus occubuit.”—*Omniditarum in Oriente Calipharum Series* (apud Casiri, tom. ii. p. 182). Again:—“Fusis Christianorum apud fluvium Guadalete copiis, interfectoque Roderico,” &c.—*Specimen Plenitunii*. If this author be considered too modern to give his authority much weight, what says Easis, who wrote in the third century of the Hegira?—“Christianis fusis, interfectoque Roderico, Tudemirus in ejus locum suffectus,” &c.—*Fragmentum Historiæ Hispaniæ*, in eadem collectione, ii. 320. But the authority of Isidore, a well-informed contemporary, ought to set the subject at rest.

could the king reach the Guadalete, without cutting his way through the whole army of the infidels? and why should he fly in a direction where he was sure to meet with nothing but conquered towns and villages, from that river to the rock of Calpe? But no one, it may be truly answered, ever supposed that his flight was to the south or east, but to the north or north-west,—in other words, towards Lusitania. If so, how could he approach the Guadalete? The inventors of this story must have been poor geographers, or they would have substituted for the Guadalete the Guadalquivir, which a good horseman could reach in little more than an hour from the plains of Xeres. Yet no man, however undaunted, would think of plunging into such a river as the Guadalquivir near its mouth.

The writers who believe that Roderic passed the last years of his life in a hermitage give us edifying accounts of his patience under suffering, and of his resistance to temptation. The chivalrous chronicle devotes some chapters to the subject. Now he was tempted to sin by the devil, in the likeness of count Julian, now of La Caba, now of an angel, &c. We refer the curious reader, who cannot read the Spanish originals, to the ample notes in Southey's "Roderic." That celebrated author follows the common stream of tradition, and makes his hero so purified by suffering, as to have thrown off the vices of our nature.*

APPENDIX L. Page 150.

DESCRIPTION OF A BATTLE BETWEEN THE MOHAMMEDANS AND THE CHRISTIANS.

"I HAVE nowhere seen," says Southey, "a more curious description of a battle between Christians and Saracens than in Barratt's manuscript:—

'The forlorn Christian troops moon'd troops encharge,
The mooned troops requite them with the like;
Whilst Grecian lance cracks (thundering) Parthian targe,
Parth's flame-flash arrow Grecian through doth prick,
And whilst that Median scymetar unlimbs
The Christian knight, doth Christian battle-axe
Unhead the Median horseman; whilst here dims
The pagan's goggling eyes by Grecian axe,
The Greek unhorsed lies by Persian push,
And both all rageful grapple on the ground;
And whilst the Saracen with furious rush
The Syrian shocks, the Syrian as round
Down-should'reth Saracen: whilst Babel blade
Sends soul Byzantine to the starved cell,
Byzantine pike, with like employed trade,
Packs Babel's spirit posting down to hell.'"

Notes to Southey's Roderic, ii. 237.

* His end, according to the veracious *Historia de los Reyes Godos*, fol. 37., was not exactly that of a saint. "Y acabó allí (in the hermitage) la vida, comido ó mordido de una colubra el miembro viril ocasion de su pecado con La Caba."

APPENDIX M. Page 151.

THEODOMIR REIGNED IN MURCIA AT THE VERY TIME PELAYO REIGNED IN THE ASTURIAS.

THE variations in the meager accounts of the Spanish chroniclers as to the names of the native kings who reigned in the first half of the eighth century have given rise to much controversy among the modern historians of that country. While one, and by far the more numerous party, makes Pelayo, after an interregnum of about five years, the next successor of Roderic; another contends that the Gothic crown was continued in Theodomir; and, third, in the hope of uniting the two, does not hesitate to assume that Theodomir and Pelayo were one and the same person. It must, however, be observed, that this last opinion is too bold, and little founded on either history or chronology, to have been emitted by a well-informed native. The subject deserves an examination which we could not so well institute in the text as in the present place.

Neither the monk who continued the chronicle of the abbot of Valclara, nor Isidore of Beja, the only contemporary native authorities hitherto discovered (apud Florez, tom. vi. et viii.), make the slightest mention of Pelayo. The latter of these writers, however, whose testimony no cavilling can destroy or weaken, expressly names Theodomir, the same who under the reigns of Egica and Witiza had repulsed the Arabs from the coasts of Andalusia, as the immediate successor of Roderic.* It is confirmed by a fragment of the genuine Rasis,† in the collection of the learned Casiri, then librarian of the Escorial. If it were possible for any doubt longer to exist, it would be dispelled by the recent researches of Condé, who has been fortunate enough to discover Arabian treasures, of which his predecessor Casiri never suspected the existence, and who has found the tenor of these MSS. in favor of the reign of Theodomir too decided to admit of dispute.

The historians who consider the crown of the Goths to have been continued in Pelayo—and they are full nine tenths of all that have ever written on the subject—follow the authority of Sebastian, bishop of Salamanca,‡ and of the anonymous chronicler of Albelda.§ Now, though these chroniclers wrote in the latter half

* Isid. Pacen. pp. 300, 301. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the good bishop wrote other historical works, now unhappily lost;—works to which he himself refers us for information as to the transactions of the Christians. Were they extant, we should not be so much in the dark, either as to the foundation of the Asturian kingdom or as to the fate of the Murcian.

† Fragmentum Historiæ Hispan., apud Casiri, Bibl. ii. 320., quoted in Appendix J. This writer is usually termed the *genuine* Rasis, to distinguish him from the pretended original of Gil Perez.

‡ Sebastiani Salmanticensis Chronicon, pp. 481—483. (apud Florez, xiii.)

§ Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon, p. 451. (apud eundem, xiii.)

of the ninth century, their testimony cannot possibly be rejected, as their parents might easily have conversed with men who remembered the reign, if not the accession, of Pelayo, and who therefore were not very likely to blunder in the dates.* And it is not the least strange feature in this remarkable want of conformity between the two parties, that, while the bishop of Beja makes no mention of Pelayo, neither he of Salamanca nor he of Albelda says a word of Theodomir.

To reconcile these (apparently) conflicting statements has sadly puzzled historians. Pierre de Marca, archbishop of Paris, is the first,—as far as we can collect,—who ventured on the bold hypothesis that Theodomir and Pelayo were one and the same person, and that Athanagild, the successor of the former, was the same as Alphonso I.† Pellicer and the marquis of Mondejar had little difficulty in exposing this absurd, rash, and unwarrantable assumption.‡ They justly observe that the relations of the ancient historians evidently require a distinction both of persons and of dates. Pelayo died in 737; Theodomir apparently in 743; Alonso I., or the *Catholic*, reigned from 739 to 758; Athanagild from 743 to 755. (The archbishop does not tell us what we are to do with Favila, the intermediate sovereign between Pelayo and Alonso: but what is a sovereign or a century to an hypothesis?) But a more terrible blow to this strange theory lies in the indisputable fact, that while Pelayo, Favila, and Alonso reigned in the Asturias and Leon, Theodomir and Athanagild were the vassal kings of the caliphs in the province of Murcia. The localities of the two kingdoms are too clearly mentioned in the respective Christian and Mohammedan writers to leave any doubt on the subject.§

Absurd, however, as this hypothesis is, it has found supporters, but in the country only which may boast of its invention. There are some circumstances attending its progress, not unlikely to

* We have a relative now living, and likely to live for some years, who in 1745 conversed with some officers of the army of prince Charles Edward. A son of ours may hereafter be born, who may very well live to mention the circumstance in the year 1900. Here is a chain of tradition with only one intermediate link, embracing a longer period than from Pelayo to the bishop of Salamanca, who wrote about 870.

† Marca Hispanica, lib. iii. cap. 1. col. 228. et cap. 2. col. 232. "*Pelagium autem eundem esse cum Theodimere jam observavimus.*"—"Theodimeris sive Pelagii virtute," &c.

‡ Anales de la Monarquia de España, lib. i. p. 31. by Pellicer. Advertencias a la Historia del P. Mariana, adv. 33. p. 23. by the celebrated Ibanez de Segovia, whose Obras Chronologicas may also be consulted with great profit by all who wish to acquire a critical knowledge of Spanish history.

§ Compare the treaty made between Theodomir and Abdelasis, which enumerates the very towns comprised under the sway of the Gothic prince, with the places of the Asturias and Leon mentioned by the bishop of Salamanca, the monks of Albelda and Silos, don Alonzo el Sabio, the bishop of Tuy, Rodrigo Ximenes, &c., as quoted in the second and third books of this history.

amuse the reader. That commonplace, blundering, and not very scrupulous writer, father d'Orleans (in his "*Histoire des Révolutions d'Espagne*") adopts it, but without saying from what source he derived it, or whether he derived it from any source at all. Next Voltaire (in his "*Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.* chap. 20.) does the very same as the jesuit historian! Nothing can so much show the lamentable ignorance of the French reading public on Spanish history as the fact that neither the dishonesty of the jesuit nor the infidel was discovered. Hermilly, the translator of Ferreras, commits, in a note,* the hypothesis in question, as if it were then broached by the jesuit for the first time, and as if it had never been confuted by Pellicer and Mondejar! What are we to think of such ignorance in one who is professedly a critic of Spanish history, and who on several occasions ventures to set his original right?

But the best remains yet to be told. Marlés, who has ventured on no less a task than that of combining the Christian with the Arabic relations of Condé, and thereby of presenting a connected, or at least a simultaneous view of Peninsular history, both Christian and Mohammedan, thus writes:—

"Voltaire, in his '*Essai sur les Mœurs*,' delivers an opinion wholly new (*toute nouvelle*), which seems too the most reasonable. He thinks that Pelayo and Theodomir were the same individual. In support of this opinion some powerful observations arise." &c.

From our experience of the modern literature of the French, we should not have been surprised to find a *littérateur* of that nation ignorant even of the very existence of Marca; but that he should know so little of father d'Orleans surprises us. The learning of few Frenchmen at this day seems to ascend higher than the age of Voltaire. Ignorance so gross of what has been written by Marca and the jesuit, by Pellicer, Mondejar, Ferreras, and Hermilly, ought, however, to excite some deeper feeling than surprise, or even contempt, towards one who assumes the task of an historian, and who is expected to be, if not something of a critic, at least conversant with some better authorities than either Mariana or Depping.

Seeing the existence of Theodomir and Athanagild on the one part, and of Pelayo, Favila, &c. on the other, so clearly established, Masdeu has not hesitated to make the reigns of these sovereigns follow one another in this order:—*Theodomir, Athanagild, Pelayo, Favila, Alonso I.* &c. But, in so doing, he found in the re-

* Tom. ii. partie 4. p. 449.

† See the title:—*Histoire Générale d'Espagne*, traduite de l'Espagnol de Jean de Ferreras, enrichie de Notes Historique et Critiques; in 10 vols. 4to. Paris, 1751.

‡ *Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal*. Rédigée sur l'Histoire traduite de l'Arabe en Espagnol de M. Joseph Condé; par M. de Marlés, tom. i. p. 120. note.

§ *España Árabe*, xii. 17. 53. y. tom. xv. ilustración 6.

ceived chronology an obstacle which any other than himself would have considered insuperable. As Athanagild continued to reign until about the year 755 or 756, this author is compelled to defer the accession of Pelayo unto that year, though, according to the received chronology, the Asturian prince began to reign in 718, and died in 737. Favila reigned only two years, and in 739 was succeeded by Alonso I., who died in 757, viz. about three years after the death, deposition, or flight of Athanagild. If there be any truth in these dates, the system of Masdeu must fall to the ground.

As the author in question admits the accuracy of those relating to Theodomir and Athanagild, as given us by Isidorus Pacensis and the monk of Albelda, viz. that these two princes reigned from 711 to about 755,* the dispute can only affect the reigns of the first Asturian kings. It will not be difficult to prove that they actually lived in the periods assigned them by the received chronology.

Sebastian of Salamanca and the monk of Albelda are the first Christian (contemporary with each other) historians who speak of Pelayo. After alluding to that king's victories, the former says, "Pelagius rex post nonum decimum annum completum propria morte decessit, et sepultus est cum uxore sua regina Gaudiosa territorio Cangas in ecclesia sanctore Enlaliæ de Velapnio."† This was in æra 775, or A. D. 737.

The chronicle of Albelda :—

"Primus in Asturiis Pelagius regnat in Canicas annis xix.; obiit quidem prædictus Pelagius in locum Canicas, æra dcccxxv."‡ These two writers are followed by the anonymous ones of the Complutensian and Conimbricensian chronicles :—

"Antequam Dominus Pelagius regnaret, Sarraceni regnarunt in Hispaniâ, annis v. Pelagius regnavit annis xviii."§—*Chron. Complut.*

The other chronicle is word for word the same as the preceding: both are literally followed by the chroniclers of Lusitania and Compostella.

Again, with respect to Pelayo's successes, "Æra 775 filius ejus Favila in regni successit, qui propter paucitatem temporis nihil historiæ dignum egit," &c.||

Lastly, "Æra 777 post Favilani interitum Adefonsus qui dicitur

* When Isidore concludes his work (754), he speaks of Athanagild as still living; at least he does not mention that prince's death. From the *Chronicon Albeldense* that event or flight must, however, have taken place during the vicereignty of Yuseuf, and very probably during the civil wars between this Arab and Abderahman, viz. in 755, or at furthest 756. See the first chapter of the next book.

† P. 47. in Sandoval, and Florez, No. 8. tom. xiii.

‡ Apud Florez, xiii. No. 50.

§ Apud eundem, xxiii.

|| P. 47. in Sandoval, and Florez, No. 8. tom. xiii.

Catholicus, successit in regnum" . . . "regnavit annos xviii. vitam feliciter in pace finivit," &c.*

Thus Alphonso died in æra 795, or A. D. 757, about a year after the time Masdeu makes Pelayo ascend the throne! But this is not the worst part of this arbitrary hypothesis. To make it agree with posterior dates, as given by contemporary writers,—dates which no man in his senses *could* cavil at,—the ingenious author, imitating in this his equally fanciful guides, Pellicer and Noguera, who furnished him both with the idea of the hypothesis and the arguments (such as they are) on which it rests, is compelled to shorten the duration of the early reigns.

According to Masdeu and his guides,		According to Sebastian and the chronicles,	
Pelayo reigned from	755 to 757	from	718 to 737
Favila	757 759		737 739
Alonso I. . . .	759 770		739 757
Fruela	770 777		757 768
Aurelio	777 781		768 774
Silo	781 786		774 783;

making a difference of thirty-four years in the first six reigns.

Now, on what foundation are the dates of this most ancient of Christian writers after Isidorus Pacensis to be thus discarded? Even on the incredible supposition that no annual record of events was kept in any of the churches or monasteries, the bishop, as before observed, in 870, might very well have conversed with persons whose parents had acquired their information from individuals actually living at the accession of Pelayo. Sebastian is followed by the monk of Albelda and all succeeding historians. If his testimony be discarded, no dependence can be placed on the national history during the eighth and ninth centuries; and the whole period may at once be erased from the annals of time.

That Favila was living and reigning in æra 777 (A. D. 739) is also evident from an inscription in the church of the Holy Cross, near Cangas, which he founded. This inscription, which is given at length by Morales,† bears the above date,—the date of the foundation. Neither Morales nor Sandoval,‡ who also saw it, have any doubts of its authenticity, of which indeed it bears evidence both from the sculpture and language. As this monument of antiquity is fatal to the chronological innovations of Masdeu, he does not hesitate to declare that it is of the ninth or tenth century, though he does not, because he cannot, assign any thing like a good reason for his incredulity. He says the date must be wrong, because in 739 Theodomir was still reigning,§—as if that vassal

* P. 47. in Sandoval, and Florez, No. 8. tom. xiii.

† Cronica General, iv. p. 15.

‡ Notaciones, &c., para Complimiento y Verificacion de las Historias de los tres Perlados, &c., p. 94.

§ Tom. xv. p. 84.

could not be governing the country of Tadmir or Murcia at the time Pelayo and Favila filled the newly-erected throne of the Asturias. That the church of Cangas was really founded by Favila, we have the authority of the bishop Sebastian :—"Sepultus est cum uxore sua regina Floreva territorio Cangas in Ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis *quam ipse construxit*."* If he was the founder, why should not also the inscription be his? What king or noble ever raised an edifice of this description without marking "the marble with his name?"

"But", says Masden, "according to the chronicle of Albelda, Pelayo took up arms in the Asturias against the Mahometans, whilst Joseph (Yussuf) reigned in Cordova, and Manuza in Leon." With respect to the former, there is no doubt an error, (and the name of an Arabian viceroy might well be mistaken by a monk of the ninth century, or by his transcriber,) for Yussuf was not raised to that dignity till A. D. 746, that is, nine years after the death of Pelayo. But with respect to Manuza, or Mumuza, whose real name was Othman ben Abu Neza, (Abu Neza is easily corruptible into Manuza), the statement is true enough. This enterprising man figured in the history of the times from A. D. 724 to 731, when he was assassinated by the command of the emir Abderahman.† He is also mentioned by Sebastian as contemporary with Pelayo, and as "unus ex quator ducibus qui prius Hispanias oppresserunt." The date is confirmed by the historians of the Franks, who relate his marriage with a daughter of Eudodale of Aquitaine, and his chief actions.‡

From the preceding examination, it is evident that the Peninsula at this period had two Christian monarchs reigning at the same time, the one in the Asturias, the other in Murcia. On the extinction, however, of the principality of Tadmir, which there is every reason for believing took place in the civil wars between Yussuf and Abderahman, the first king of Cordova, (that is, in 755 or 756,§) the Christian subjects seem to have fled to their more fortunate brethren in the northern kingdom, carrying away their relics, vases, books, &c. to that land of security. That such sacred relics were conveyed thither after the arrival of Abderahman is satisfactorily proved by Florez from the testimony of Rasis, and the bishop Cixila, an eye-witness.¶ The refugees were, doubtless, joyfully received by Alonso I., then drawing towards the close of his career.

We have thus entered at some length into this important point; and the result at which we have arrived seems so obviously true,

* Sebastianus Salmanticensis, æra 777.

† Marlés, traduction de Condé, i. 136.

‡ This is the Manuza so famous in chivalric romance. After his death his wife was sent to adorn the harem of the prophet's vizier at Damascus.

§ See book iii. chap. i.

¶ España Sagrada, tom. v. tratado 5. p. 332.

that we are astonished it has not been seized by preceding writers. There is so much absurdity in confounding Pelayo with Theodomir, or Alonso I. with Athanagild, there is such inexplicable confusion both of events and dates, in making Pelayo follow Athanagild, that the hypothesis of the two different kingdoms, at the same time, is the only one consistent with either reason or fact. But the term *hypothesis* cannot surely be applied to a system which thus harmonizes with those facts, which is founded on the most ancient testimony, and without which the history of Spain during the first half of the eighth century must still remain a mass of contradiction and uncertainty.*

APPENDIX N. Page 157.

CONVENTION AND TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ABDELASIR, THE SON OF MUZA, THE SON OF NOZEIR, AND TADMIR, THE SON OF GORDO, KING OF THE COUNTRY OF TADMIR.†

In the name of God the Clement and the Merciful! Abdelasir grants peace to Tadmir on the following conditions, which peace may Allah sanction and perpetuate:—

Tadmir shall retain possession of his states; no one but he shall have authority over the Christian inhabitants. Henceforth all war between these Christians and the Arabs is at an end. Neither the wives nor the daughters of the former shall be made slaves. The Christians shall preserve their religion and churches. Their duties and obligations towards the conqueror are thus defined:—

Every noble shall pay an annual tribute of one golden *dinar*, of four measures of wheat, and as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, vinegar, and oil.

Each vassal shall pay the half only of the above imposition.

Tadmir shall not receive within his dominions the enemies of the caliph, to whom he promises fidelity; and he shall reveal to the servants of the caliph whatever plot he may discover.

The present treaty of peace shall extend to the cities of Orihue-la, Valentola, Alicant, Mula, Vacasora, Ota, and Lorca.

Dated the fourth day of the moon Regeb, in the year of the Hegira 94,‡ in the presence of

OTEMAN BEN ABI AEDA.

HABIB BEN ABI OBEIDA.

EDRIS BEN MAICERA.

ABULCASIM EL MAZILL.

* Since writing the above note, we have met with a Chronological Compendium of Spanish History, by Ortiz (Madrid, 1796—1803, in 7 vols. 8vo.) in which the system of Noguera—the same in substance as Masden's—is exposed, by referring to merely the same authorities as have guided us.

† Comprising the modern kingdom of Murcia; perhaps also a portion of Valencia and Granada. Four hundred years after the time of Theodomir, these possessions are called Tadmir in the Arabian geographers.

‡ Corresponding to April 5, 713.

APPENDIX O. Page 191.

ST. IRENE.

THIS lady, we are told, who lived in the seventh century, at Scalabis (now Santaren), in Portugal, was of good lineage, of surpassing beauty, of high attainments, and of still higher virtue. Her time was passed in devotional exercises with her two aunts; and so little attachment had she to the world, that she made her abode in a nunnery, leaving it only once a year to pray in the church of St. Peter. On one of these occasions she was perceived by Britaldus, son of the lord of the place, who of course fell passionately in love with her; but her reputed sanctity, and the influence of her family, made him afraid to speak to her: he sickened, and took his bed. The saint was miraculously acquainted with his danger, and she resolved to console him. She visited him, and such was the efficacy of her prayers—a profane writer might employ a very different word—that he speedily recovered. But she was scarcely rid of one lover before she was plagued with another. Her tutor, the monk Remigius, lusted violently after her, and had the impudence to tell her so. She sharply upbraided him for his wickedness, and by so doing incensed him so much, that he vowed revenge. “Through the devil’s persuasion,” says the legend, “who assisted him in every thing,” he extracted the juice of certain herbs, which he recommended to the saint as indispensable for her health. Fatally for herself, she drank it: such was its power, that it distended her body in a wonderful manner, and gave her all the appearance of pregnancy. The report of her frailty was quickly spread, and reached the ears of Britaldus, who, in the heat of his jealousy, ordered one of his attendants to kill her. As she one day went to the river Nabonis, “to relieve her infirmity,” the messenger of death found her, knelt on the bank, executed his mission, and threw her lifeless body into the river. But her innocence was soon to be established. One night a revelation was made to her uncle, the abbot Selius, of all that had passed, and where her corpse, which the current had carried into the Tagus, might be found. The following day, accompanied by a great procession, the abbot hastened to the place, when his astonishment was raised by new wonders. The Tagus had receded from the holy spot, and left the saint’s body exposed to view, not in the mud of the river, but in a magnificent sepulchre, made by the hands of angels! In vain did the abbot and his fraternity endeavor to move the tomb: they soon perceived that heaven willed it to remain where it was. They took away, however, as relics a few locks of her hair, *y parte de la comisa que tenia vestida*. Scarcely had they left the bed of the river, when, lo! another miracle (surprising as that of the pope and martyr St. Clement, of which the

present fable is a manifest imitation), the Tagus returned and covered the tomb with its waters! There the *virgin* remains, awaiting, like the glorious St. Clement, the last trump of the archangel.

That there was such a person as Irene, who gave her name *Santaren* to Scalabis, cannot be doubted. Perhaps the reader's indignation will be at least equal to his amusement at finding a woman of dubious reputation thus transformed into a martyr and saint. Remigius, to conceal the fruit of their guilty connexion, seems to have murdered her, and to have thrown her corpse, perhaps laid in a tomb, into the river.

The preceding account is extracted from an ancient breviary of Evora, a fit authority! and may be found in the *España Sagrada*, xiv. 389. The story is well told by Florez himself, p. 193, &c.

APPENDIX P. Page 196.

ST. ILDEFONSO AND ST. LEUCADIA.

"THOUGH this miracle (that of the Cassock) is so singular and so notorious, yet was our Lord pleased, both for his own greater glory and the greater honor of the saint, to confirm it by another and a stranger one. It is related in the lessons of the breviaries, and the archbishop Cixila wrote it very much at length in this manner:—St. Ildefonso went one day with king Receswind and all the court to celebrate the festival of St. Leocadia in the church called after her, in which she was also buried. The holy archbishop being arrived at the blessed sepulchre, knelt down there to pray, and as he was praying he saw the sepulchre open of its own accord, the stone above it, which Cixila says thirty men could not have moved, slowly sliding from the mouth of the tomb. And immediately the holy virgin arose, after laying there 300 years, and holding out her arm, she shook hands with St. Ildefonso,* speaking in this wise:—'O, Ildefonso, through thee doth the honor of my Lady flourish!' All the spectators were silent, being struck with the novelty and greatness of the miracle; only St. Ildefonso, with Heaven's aid, replied to her, 'Glorious virgin, worthy of reigning with God in Heaven, since for his love thou didst despise and offer up thy life, happy is this city, which thou didst consecrate with thy death; and its joy is now increased in seeing thee, who dost triumph with God in glory; a mighty testimony this for the Christian faith and for the sweet consolation of thy citizens, who believe in it as becomes Christians. And I beseech thee, lady, turn thine eyes from Heaven on this city, which begot and reared

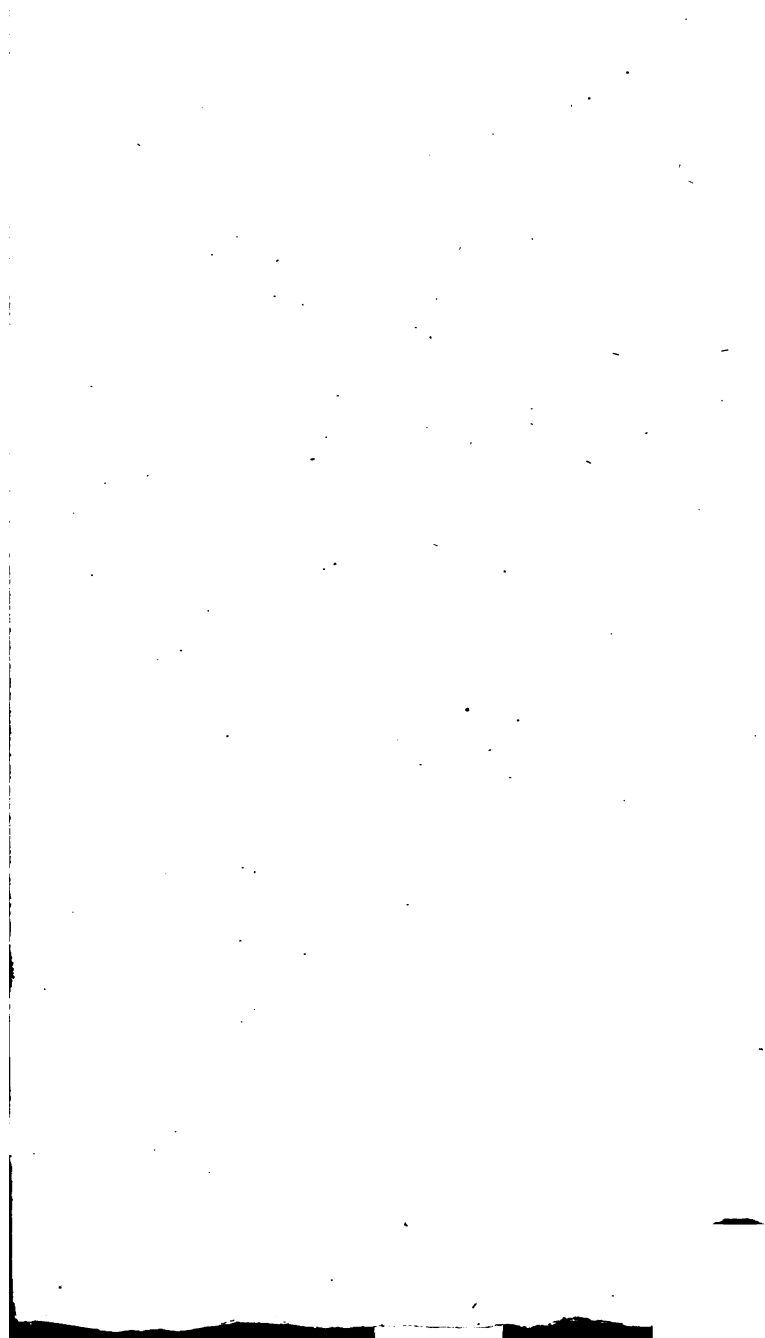
* Morales might have added, "and almost embraced him."—"Ipsa quasi eum amplexans," says Rodrigo Manuel Cerratense, a writer of the thirteenth century (see Florez, *España Sagrada*, v. 524.). Cixila (in eadem tomo, p. 506.) is not so explicit:—"Ipsa vero manibus statim complexans et astringens," &c. However, both accounts agree in the affectionate—we might almost say *amatory*—demeanor of her saintship.

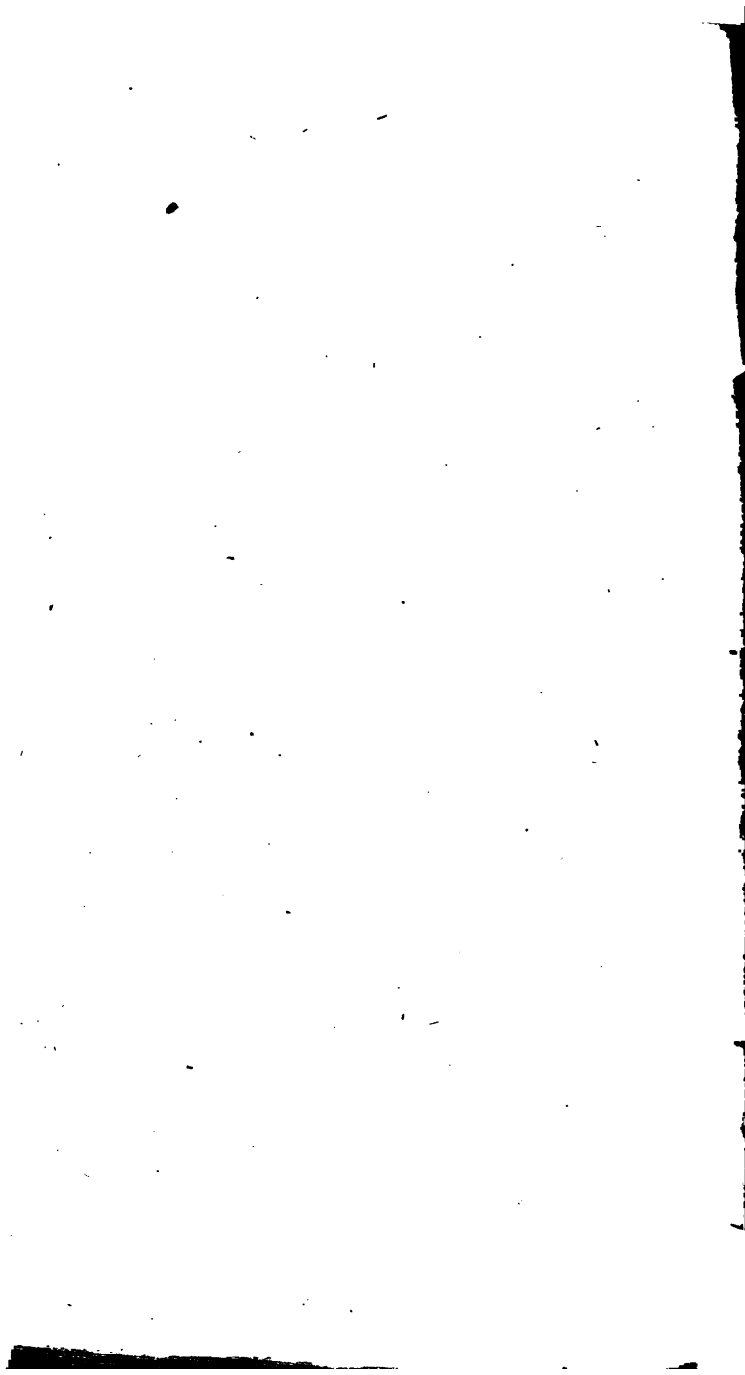
thee to be what thou art. Aid by thine intercession and prayers both thy countrymen and the king, who with much devotion doth frequent thy temple and celebrate thy feast!" Now the holy virgin looked as if she wished to return into her tomb, and she turned round for that purpose; then king Receswind begged of St. Ildefonso that he would not let her go unless she left some relic of her behind, both for a memorial of the miracle and for the consolation of the city.* And as St. Ildefonso wished to cut a part of the white veil which covered the head of St. Leocadia, the king lent him a knife for the purpose, and this must have been a poniard or dagger, though others say it was a sword. With this the saint cut a large piece of that blessed veil, and while giving it to the king, at the same time returning the knife, the saint shut herself up entirely, and covered herself in the tomb with the huge stone. The king commanded the veil and the knife to be preserved with great veneration in the sacristy of the cathedral: to this day both are honored and shown in that holy church."—*Morales*, tom. iii. fol. 158.

Cixila (apud Florez, v. 504.) relates this miracle as anterior to that of the Cassock: the circumstance is not unnoticed by *Morales*, who, however, believes there is some mistake in it; for who in heaven, he asks, would wish to be beforehand with the most holy Virgin Mary? There is another variation too in this account of *Morales*. Cixila says that Ildefonso was celebrating mass, and was near the end of the office, when the virgin appeared to him. Did the saint and the king act so irreverently as to turn their backs on our Lord? The worst of heretics could not have done more. "God knows how it is," adds Ambrosio, with the characteristic hesitation of one who sees he must sacrifice his reason to his faith, and above all, zealous for the honor of the mass; "but surely the saint would have been more at liberty to do what he did while praying than while saying mass, especially when he had the most holy sacrament and the chalice with the blood before him!"

It is almost needless to observe that the two miracles recorded here at page 196, are not to be found in St. Julian, the contemporary of St. Ildefonso, who leaves us (in Florez, v. 482.) a sketch of St. Ildefonso's life. And even Cixila, who follows tradition only, does not venture to vouch for their truth; *fertur*, it is said, is a saving qualification. Later writers, as always happens in such cases, such as Rodrigo Cerratensis, and *Morales*, exercise a proper faith.

* "Clamabat (Ildefonsus) inter voces populi velut mugient, ut aliquod incisurum deferrent, unde quod manibus tenebat præcideret."—*Cixila*, apud Florez, v. 506. According to this account, the idea of cutting the sacred veil originated with Ildefonso himself.







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